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Middle Voice in Northern Moldavian Hungarian

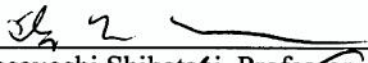
by

Anne-Marie Hartenstein

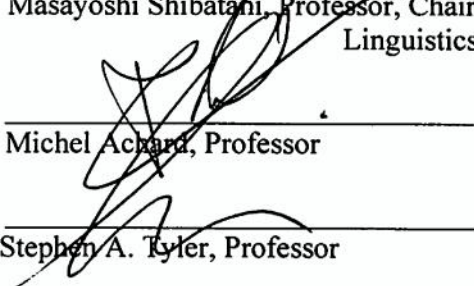
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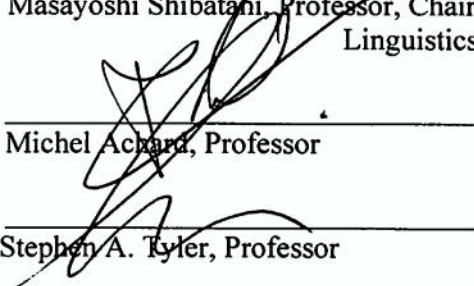
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ABSTRACT

Middle Voice in Northern Moldavian Hungarian

by

Anne-Marie Hartenstein

Based on 160 hours of recording collected in the villages of Săbăoani, and Pildești, Romania, the present research attempts to describe the middle voice system of **Northern Moldavian Hungarian (NMH)**, an endangered language spoken by no more than 3000 speakers.

Defining the middle voice category semantically rather than formally, it is argued that the various middle situation types in NMH can be placed relative to one another on a “semantic map” based on shared semantic properties such as 1) the confinement of the development of the action within the agent’s sphere to the extent that the action’s effect accrues back on the agent itself, 2) the degree of volitionality of the Initiator/Agent, and 3) the degree of affectedness of the Initiator/Agent. Polysemy structures are examined against the background of a

common semantic map derived on the basis of cross linguistic investigation of a given grammatical domain.

In working toward this end a detailed description of major patterns of meaning inherent in the NMH middle system, examining three types of morphological middles, syntactic middles, and lexical middles is presented. Cases in which the same verb can occur with or without a middle marker apparently having the same meaning are discussed. Moreover, seemingly minimal pairs in which two different morphological constructions occur with the same verb are analyzed.

A detailed analysis of the differences in form and function of the two reciprocal syntactic middle constructions in NMH is provided. Regarding reflexive syntactic middles it will be shown that depending on the case marking taken by the reflexive anaphoric operator the function conveyed is different such as reflexives, intensifiers, causers, and experiencer. Finally, cases in which the same verb can convey a middle meaning by using a morphological middle marker

or by using a syntactic middle construction are analyzed showing that there are main differences in the meaning those two strategies convey.

Thus, the present paper identifies specific semantic properties relevant to the middle voice system in NMH, sets up some hypotheses regarding the relations among middle and related situation types and proposes some diachronic predictions regarding the middle voice system of NMH.

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I would like to thank the teachers of Rice University Linguistics department, for their interesting classes that helped me gain knowledge in the different fields of linguistics and served as a foundation for this research. Prof. Achard's intriguing cognitive linguistic classes and the papers written for those classes served as an important preparation for the present work. The video clips I used for this work were a product of these classes. I would like to thank him especially for the long Independent Studies hours which introduced me to new concepts and materials but mostly taught me not to be afraid to express my opinion and ideas regarding analysis. Prof. Englebretson's class of fieldmethods introduced me to a totally new view of fieldwork which puts its utmost emphasize on natural speech, discourse analysis and the role of the consultants. Thank you for that. Moreover, in my first year at Rice University, Prof. Barlow's class on Corpus Linguistics showed me a less familiar field. Finally, Prof. Kemmer interesting classes in typology and cognitive linguistics as well as my discussions with her on the topics of middle voice were very important steps for writing this paper.

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Dedicated with love to the memory of

Blanka Hartenstein and Martin Hartenstein, my grandparents

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN GLOSSES

ABL	Ablative
ACC	Accusative
ADE	Adessive
ADV	Adverb
ADVP	Adverbial Participle
ALL	Allative
AR	Postposition: 'at rest'
AUX	Auxiliary
CAUS	Causative
COMP	Comperative
DAT	Dative
DEF	Definite
DEL	Delative
DIM	Diminutive
DIST	Distributive Numeral
ELA	Elativ
GEN	Genitive
ILLIN	Inessive and Illative
IMP (however because the forms of the imperative and the conjunctive are the same we have in most cases used SUBJ)	Imperative
INDEF	Indefinite

INF	Infinitive
INS	instrumental-comitative
INTS	Intensifier suffix
MF	Postposition: 'motion from'
MID	Middle Voice
MT	Postposition: 'motion to'
NEG	Negative
NOM	Nominative
OPT	Optative
ORD	Ordinal class
P	Person
PL	Plural
POR	Anaphoric possessive
POSS	Possessive
PRES	Present tense
PREV	Preverb
PST	Past tense
REFL	Reflexive pronoun (anaphoric operator)
S	Singular
SLA	Superlative
SOC	Sociative case
SUB	Sublative
SUBJ	Subjunctive
SUP	Superessive
TERM	Terminative
TR	Translative case

I observe the following glossing conventions:

(i) In the glosses, I do not, by default, indicate features that have zero morphology. This concerns nominative case on subject noun phrases, and Present tense on verbs. I will only add these features to glosses when relevant to the discussion.

(ii) I add the abbreviation ‘lit.’ to English translations of NMH examples to render the NMH structure transparently. These ‘translations’ are often ungrammatical in English, but I do not mark them as such in this context.

(iii) An example from a language other than English or NMH is introduced with a language tag.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.0 Introduction

This work approaches the middle voice from the perspective of typology and usage-based research. The principal aim is to provide a typologically valid characterization of the middle voice of Northern Moldavian Hungarian, an endangered language doomed to disappear in less than one century, in such a way that it can be incorporated in future research in a cognitively-based theory of human language, as well as typology and language universal research and to some extent language contact research. I believe that applying the methodology of typology and usage-based research to the middle voice leads to the emergence of new insights into the nature of this elusive category.

The term middle voice has a wide range of applications in the linguistic literature which will be discussed in great detail in chapter 5. In this paper I will be defining the middle voice category semantically, rather than formally, and accordingly, forms will be classified on the basis of their semantic function. It

will be shown that there are some semantic properties crucial to the nature of the middle such as 1) the confinement of the development of the action within the agent's sphere to the extent that the action's effect accrues back on the agent itself, 2) the degree of volitionality of the Initiator/Agent, and 3) the degree of affectedness of the Initiator/Agent. Hence, it will be argued that the various middle situation types in NMH can be placed relative to one another on a "semantic map" based on these shared semantic properties. Thus, the present paper identifies specific semantic properties relevant to the middle voice system in NMH, sets up some hypotheses regarding the relations among middle and related situation types and proposes some diachronic predictions regarding the middle voice system of NMH.

1.1 Objectives of the Present Study

The present research is a modest attempt **to describe the middle voice system of Northern Moldavian Hungarian**, a language spoken by no more than 3000 speakers in the villages of Săbăoani and Pildești in Romania. As this language is

endangered and will disappear in no more than one generation, the present work tries to document as much as possible of this language. First and foremost my intention is to exemplify a wide range of uses of the middle voice system in NMH. In working toward this end I have attempted to present a detailed description of major patterns of meaning inherent in the NMH middle system. It hopes to fill gaps in the scarce literature mentioning this language. There are only three sources which discuss this language. One source dates back to early 1910s, by comparative historical grammarian Yrjö Wichmann, who during a 6-month field trip compiled a dictionary, unfortunately collapsing data from three significantly different dialect areas. The second source could have been the poetry book written by Mitică Lăcătușu (1911-1974), a local poet of the village of Săbăoani. Nevertheless, the published book is in Standard Hungarian and not in the language of his village; hence, this data is not useful for my purposes. Finally, another source is Klara Sandor's description of the Csángó dialects or vernaculars as she calls them. All the other works mentioning the Csángós

describe their demographic, historic and political situations. The present work focuses on Northern Moldavian Hungarian (Northern Csángó) because of its unique situation. It was isolated from Hungarian for more than 700 years and in close contact with Romanian. It is endangered. Northern Moldavian Hungarian and Standard Hungarian are not mutually intelligible. Being so isolated from Hungary and in close contact with Romanian has forced them to borrow Romanian vocabulary into their language as well as Romanian grammatical structures. It is also not similar to Székler Hungarian in Transylvania. In chapter 2 it will be explained in great detail that there is no historical evidence showing that the Northern Csángós ever mixed with the Széklers that moved to Moldavia.

The present work is based on data collected in the villages of Săbăoani (Szabofalva), and Pildești (Kelgyest). I have spend 4 full month in these villages working with more than 12 consultants, five to six on a daily basis and the others for clarification purposes and occasional sessions. Most of them were elderly women 67 years and older. It is based on 160 hours of recordings, a 14782

sentence Toolbox database with a 1441 word quadri-lingual word list. A variety of methods such as structured elicitation, translation of stories, narrating video clips, narrating pictures, pear story, frog stories, free conversation as well as multiple-party conversations were used for data collection. All the data was checked with all the consultants.

This work studies NMH on its own right and does not describe NMH in relation to Hungarian as to how it diverges from it. I believe in order to get a full understanding of NMH one has to first learn and describe the language in isolation. A comparative study is of importance, the question that should be asked then is it correct to compare it to Modern Hungarian or is a comparison of it with Old Hungarian, more valid as its speakers left their motherland 700 years ago.

Thus, the objective of the present work is two folded a) to contribute to the field of linguistics in describing an endangered language especially its middle voice system providing detailed data and analysis of the middle voice system of

a Finno-Ugric language which has been in isolation from its original mother tongue Hungarian and in constant contact with a Romance language, Romanian and b) to contribute to the Csángó community playing a small role in the process of recognition of its speakers and the language itself in the local as well as international arena.

1.2 Organization of the discussion

The present work on NMH middle voice is organized as follows. **Chapter 2** provides an overview description of the Hungarian people in Romania such as the Hungarians in Transylvania, the Széklers and the different types of Hungarians living in Moldavia. In order to understand the situation and the origin of the Northern Moldavian Hungarians and their language such an overview is of great importance. How are the Hungarian people in other parts of Romania different from the Hungarians in Moldavia? Is their present situation similar to the Csángós? The way the role of religion in those communities and language policy contribute to the present language situation and language attitude

of the speakers is discussed in great detail. All these and more are intertwined topics tackled in this chapter. **Chapter 3** deals with the methodology used in this paper. I discuss the way the data this work is based on was collected, what type of collection methods were used such as free conversation, elicitation, controlled natural speech etc. The different existing fieldwork methodologies and their advantages and disadvantages will also be under discussion. Based on specific examples from the collection of phonological paradigms, the lexicon, and grammatical constructions, it will be shown that although both elicitation and natural speech methods are of importance for data collection, natural speech is finally a very significant tool for trustful data. Finally, the role of the speaker and the linguist in the process of data collection will be discussed.

Chapter 4 serves as a basic description of some of the more relevant language aspects of Northern Moldavian Hungarian. As this work deals with the middle voice system in NMH, information regarding the verb in NMH is of main importance. Chapter 4 introduces the verbal paradigms of NMH discussing the

notion of verb stem types, the tenses and the moods, the different personal endings of the verbs depending on the mood, tense, verbal stems, and the notion of definiteness. A special emphasis is given to verbal derivational morphology, as the morphological middle formation is part of it. Nevertheless, a short summary of some phonetical aspects, a morphological overview of different parts of speech, word formation and word order in NMH are some of the other topics that will be considered.

Chapter 5 discusses those particular notions, both descriptive and theoretical which are central to the present analysis of middle voice as an internally coherent category, parallel to but independent of active voice. I first view contemporary studies of voice and transitivity which use both functional and formal frameworks. Next I describe the framework used in this paper. Based on Shibatani (2006) and Shibatani and Artawa (2003), voice is understood in this paper as the pattern of the form-function correlation along the parameters pertaining to the evolutionary properties of an action. Different voice categories

correspond to different conceptualizations of how an action evolves. This paper is concerned with the voice pertaining to the development of the action, the middle voice.

The ultimate goal of **chapter 6** is to provide a coherent semantic mapping of the semantic relations among middle and other situation types in NMH especially examining the polysemy structures against the background of a common semantic map derived on the basis of cross linguistic investigation of a given grammatical domain. It analyzes the three most commonly occurring middle constructions in NMH, one of which is encoded lexically, the other one morphologically using three different morphological middle markers *kɛd/kɛz*, *ud/yd*, and *ul/yl*, and the third one which is encoded syntactically with two types of reciprocal constructions and one reflexive construction.

Based on Kemmer's classification of the middle situation types chapter 6 provides a generalization as to the different middle situation types in NMH such as reflexive, reciprocals, spontaneous, impersonal, motion middles, change in

mental state and much more. It also discusses cases in which the same verb can occur with or without a middle marker seemingly having the same meaning such as the active form *gondol* ‘think’ vs. the middle marked form *gondolkozik* ‘think’, and *var* ‘wait’ vs. *varudik* ‘wait’. Moreover, verbs that can take more than one middle suffix such as the verb *ver* ‘hit’ which can occur with the *ud/yd* middle marker as in *verydik* and with the *kɛd/kɛz* middle marker as in *verɛkɛdik* are under discussion. In other words, how should one treat seemingly minimal pairs in which two different morphological constructions occur with the same verb?

Regarding syntactic middle constructions in NMH, chapter 6 introduces two different reciprocal middle constructions, one with the reciprocal anaphoric operator *zedzik ə masik* and the other with *i mas*. It also introduces the reflexive middle construction with the reflexive anaphoric operator *maga*. I look at the formation of these two reciprocal markers and at the differences and similarities between them. For example, only *i mas* constructions clearly expressed

reciprocal actions that cannot be done concomitantly. Only *zedzik ə masik* was used in reciprocal situations which clearly lexically expressed two entities. *i mas* construction co-occurs more frequently with verbs marked morphologically for reciprocity than *edzik ə masik* construction. Finally, the reflexive anaphoric operator is under discussion showing that depending on the case marking taken by the reflexive anaphoric operator the function it conveys is different such as reflexives, intensifiers, causers, and experiencer.

In conclusion, chapter 6 serves as a jumping board to the fine grained analysis of specific middle voice constructions in NMH provided in chapters 7 and 8.

Chapter 7 treats reciprocal middle constructions in some depth looking at morphological, syntactic and lexical reciprocals. I begin by introducing the different terminological issues especially discussing Haspelmath 2007. I then consider subject-oriented morphological reciprocal constructions and object-oriented morphological reciprocal constructions for both *kəd/kez* and *ud/yd*

middle marked verbs. I then subdivide the subject-oriented reciprocal constructions into two groups a) Category A which comprises verbs with the middle marker which enter into a standard reciprocal relation with the base verb, and b) Category B lexical middles. I have further subdivided Category A into three subgroups 1) verbs that by default take a reciprocal meaning 2) verbs in which the reflexive meaning is prevalent but under some circumstances can get a reciprocal reading as well, and 3) verbs that exhibit reflexive-reciprocal polysemy. Next, I compare the two morphological reciprocal constructions in NMH, looking at the semantic of the predicates and their usage. Regarding the lexical reciprocal middles the semantically restricted set of predicates are discussed dividing them into three subgroups a) underived lexical middles, b) deponents and semi-deponents and c) odd reciprocals. It will be shown that lexical middles can occur in both simple reciprocal constructions and discontinuous reciprocals. Finally, all lexical deponents express uniplex mutual events. Multiplex mutual events can only be expressed by grammatical

reciprocals especially using the anaphoric reciprocal operators. Next, syntactic reciprocals are considered in more detail looking at the diathesis types these constructions can occur in such as two-place and three-place relations constructions and at the semantics of the predicates which can occur with the two reciprocal anaphoric operators in NMH. I finally compare morphological reciprocals to syntactic reciprocals whenever, the same verb could occur in both types of constructions. In other words, which verbs can express reciprocity by using both the middle and the syntactic reciprocal marker; is there a change in the meaning the constructions express or is the usage interchangeable.

Chapter 8 discusses NMH morphological, syntactic and lexical reflexive middles. Under reflexive middles I subsume direct reflexives, indirect reflexives, grooming and body care verbs, and even motion situation types such as ‘I moved’, ‘I stand up’. Reflexives are viewed in this work as part of the middle domain and not as a separate category as Kemmer (1993) does. It seems only logical to consider reflexives as a middle action type since the action type is also

confined in the subject's personal sphere. I begin by introducing different approaches to this topic introducing relevant terminology and concepts such as archetypal reflexives, prototypical middles, (Faltz and Kemmer), the notion of Obligatoriness when distinguishing reflexives and intensifiers, and usage and world frequency as a methodological approach to explain linguistic behavior (Haspelmath 2008). I then provide a detailed list of all the predicates that occurred in the database with the two middle markers *kɛd/kɛz* and *ud/yd* briefly characterizing the semantic of the verbs and the constructions they appear in. I discuss the reflexive-spontaneous polysemy and the reflexive – impersonal polysemy and compare between the two morphological reflexive constructions as to their behavior and predicates they take. I then consider lexical middles dividing them into underived reflexive middles, deponents and odd-deponents, the same concepts used when looking at reciprocal lexical middles. Next I consider syntactic reflexive middles showing that depending on the case marking the anaphoric operator *maga* takes their function is different such as true

correferentiality (reflexives), intensifiers, causers, experiencers and recipients/benefactors. Finally, I compare the syntactic reflexive middles and the morphological reflexive middles in cases in which the same verb occurs with one or the other finding main differences between the two strategies in the readings they provide. For example, the syntactic middle construction had only one reading which was a clear cut correspondence between the reflexive anaphoric operator and the agent of the sentence; whereas, the morphological middles had two readings available one was a spontaneous event and the other a reflexive event. Finally, this chapter also deals with the topic of the interpretation of the distribution of the middle forms taking into consideration the different correlations between form and function such as 1) the correlation between form and semantic transparency and 2) the correlation between form and its use in context. Last but not least, based on the present synchronic analysis it will try to predict some diachronic and future developments of the middle category in NMH.

Chapter 9 summarizes the findings of this work. Moreover, it describes what I consider the broadest and most significant implications and contributions this study attempts to achieve and provides some points for further research.

Chapter 2: Northern Moldavian Hungarian the language and its speakers

2.0 Introduction

In order to describe and understand the situation and the origin of the Hungarians in Northern Moldavia (the so called Northern Csángós), it is of importance to provide an overview of the Hungarian people in Romania including all the types of the Hungarian people living in Moldavia itself. Where did they come from? How are the Hungarian people in other parts of Romania different from the Hungarians in Moldavia? Is their present situation similar to the Csángós? How about their language and language usage? Finally, what is the final sub classification of the Hungarian in Moldavia?

2.1 Hungarians and their language in Romania

Hungarians constitute the largest ethnic and linguistic minority in Romania.

Hungarians in Romania can be divided into a few of subgroups, such as Hungarians living in Transylvania, Széklers, Csángós (northern Csángós and southern Csángós), Széklers of Moldavia or Csángó Széklers etc.

2.1.1 Hungarians in Transylvania

Most of the Hungarians in Romania live in Transylvania, a historical region in the central part of Romania. Bounded on the east and south by the Carpathian mountain range historical Transylvania extended in the west to the Apuseni Mountains. Today, some consider Transylvania to compass also the regions of Banat in western Romanian bordering with Serbia, Crisana north of Banat which borders Hungary and Maramures in northern Romanian bordering Hungary and Ukraine. This is a territory of about 38,548 square miles.

Transylvania has been dominated by several different people and empires throughout its history. It was once the nucleus of the Kingdom of Dacia (82 BC–

106 AD). In 106 AD the Roman Empire conquered the territory. After the Roman legions withdrew in 271 AD, it was overrun by a succession of tribes, which subjected it to various influences. The Hungarians conquered the area at the end of the 9th century and firmly established their control over it in 1003 as it became part of the Hungarian Kingdom. However, in 1526 as a consequence of the disintegration of Hungary it became an independent Principality (1571 – 1711).

The Habsburgs acquired the territory shortly after the Battle of Vienna in 1683. The Habsburgs, however, recognized the Hungarian sovereignty over Transylvania. From 1867 until 1920 Transylvania belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Following the defeat in World War I, Austro-Hungary began to disintegrate. The ethnic Romanian majority elected representatives, who then proclaimed union with Romania on December 1, 1918. The ‘Proclamation of Union’ of Alba Iulia was adopted by the Deputies of the Romanians from Transylvania, and

supported one month later by the vote of the Deputies of the Saxons from Transylvania. In 1920, the Allies confirmed the union in the Treaty of Trianon. Thus, in Romania a Hungarian minority was created as a consequence of the change state borders in 1918-1920. The Vienna Agreement of 1940 returned 40% of Transylvania to Hungary, an ally of Germany and Italy. The territory, however, reverted to Romania in 1945.

2.1.2 The prestige of Hungarian in Transylvania

The prestige of a language is a complex phenomenon. It depends on both social and cultural aspects. The social prestige of a language depends on the beliefs of the speakers about the social success and advantages which can be reached by the use of a given language. This social prestige is of course partially influenced by the language policies of the country in question.

The cultural prestige of a language depends on the loyalty the speakers feel towards their ethnic community and how strong their connection to the culture they have been brought up in is: are they interested in reading literature in this

language; are they interested in keeping the spoken language alive; are they interested in their folklore?

It is important to look at these two aspects (the social and cultural) as they may differ even in the case of the same language (Attila Benó and Sándor Szilágyi N.:145)

In order to understand the huge differences between the function and the prestige of the Hungarian language variety in Transylvania and the Northern Moldavian Hungarian in Moldavia one needs to first discuss the Hungarian language in Transylvania.

In Transylvania, Hungarian is present on daily and literal levels but is scarcely used on the professional level. According to Attila Benó and Sándor Szilágyi, it is used in public spheres in institutions of local administrations if the ratio of the minority is over 20% at the given place, as well as in churches and civil organizations of the Hungarians. There are also schools in which the main language of teaching is Hungarian; however, studying Romanian language and

literature is compulsory in all schools. According to the law, it is not the right of citizens belonging to ethnic minorities to study Romanian language but their duty (Article 8, paragraph 3).

Hence, the privileged legal status of the only official language 'Romanian' creates prestige and promises a chance for success which is reflected by the fact that Hungarians choose to get their education mostly in Romanian. Many schoolchildren of Hungarian origin study in classes where the medium of education is Romanian as many parents believe that children will get along easier in life and will advance on the social ladder if they study in Romanian. According to Attila Benó and Sándor Szilágyi about 75% of the mixed families (only one Hungarian parent) choose schools with Romanian as a medium of education and 25% of children from Hungarian families (both parents are from Hungarian origin) are educated in the Romanian language. Hence, it shows that the social prestige of Romanian is high and not so of Hungarian.

However, the cultural prestige of Hungarian is quite high among Hungarian speakers in Transylvania. 95.2% of the subjects in a project called Sociolinguistics of Hungarian outside Hungary (SHOH)¹ declared that they read literature in Hungarian and only 33.17% do so in Romanian, too. 95.45% declared that they read the Bible and other religious books in Hungarian and 96.27% read newspapers and periodicals in Hungarian. This cultural prestige of the Transylvanian variety of Hungarian comes from the well known myth regarding the expressivity and poetic character of the Székler dialect.

In these regions there is not only cultural prestige of the Hungarian language per se but also to the local varieties spoken in this region. This point is very important when discussing NMH (Csángó). The answers to the question ‘where is the most beautiful Hungarian spoken?’ suggest that the prestige of the Transylvanian variety of Hungarian is very high not only among the Hungarian

¹

SHOH is the first systematically done sociolinguistic project that gathered data in a replicable fashion regarding Hungarian language outside Hungary. This survey project is based on a questionnaire protocol carried out in 1995-1996 in a couple of neighboring countries including also Romania. For more information regarding this study please refer to Kontra 2005 ‘Contextualizing the sociolinguistics of Hungarian Outside Hungary project in the book Hungarian Language Contact Outside Hungary (29-45)

speakers in Romania but also in other countries. The overall results from the seven investigated countries of the SHOH project show that the Transylvanian variety of Hungarian was given 31.3% which was the highest rating even higher than Hungarian spoken in Budapest which was given 26.4%.

In conclusion, the perception of the Hungarian speakers in Romania of their language is quite high. Hence, they sense cultural prestige. This is why, Hungarian is being used in their daily life.

2.2 The Széklers in Romania

The Széklers are a subgroup of the Hungarian people living mostly in the Székler Land² an ethno-cultural region in eastern Transylvania, Romania. More specifically, they live in the valleys and hills of the Eastern Carpathian Mountains, corresponding to the present-day Harghita, Covasna, and parts of Mures Counties in Romania. Based on official 2002 Romanian census numbers, 1,434,377 ethnic Hungarians live in Romania, mostly in Transylvania. The Széklers account for a significant part (45%) of the Hungarians in Romania.

Their origin has been much debated; it is, however, now generally accepted that they are Hungarians or the descendants of a Magyarized Turkic peoples³, transplanted there to guard the frontier, their name meaning simply ‘frontier

2

Originally, the name Székely Land denoted an autonomous region within Transylvania. It existed as a legal entity from medieval times until the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, when its role was replaced by the county system. Along with Transylvania, it became part of Romania in 1920, returned to Hungary in 1940 and was again attached to Romania in 1945. The area was an autonomous region within Romania between 1952–1968, and today there are Szekley autonomy initiatives to reach a higher level of self-governance for the Székely Land within Romania.

3

These are peoples residing in northern, central and western Asia, southern Siberia and northwestern China and parts of Eastern Europe. The term Turkic represents a broad ethno-linguistic group of people including existing societies such as the Turkish, Azerbaijani etc, etc, as well as past civilizations such as the Kumans, Ottoman Turks etc.

guards'. Hence, In the Middle Ages, the Széklers, along with the Saxons, played a key role in the defense of the Kingdom of Hungary against the Ottomans in their posture of guards of the eastern border.

Their present language is very similar to the one spoken in Transylvania. Hence, the situation of their language in present day was already described in the previous section 2.1.2 when discussing the situation of the Hungarian Language in Transylvania.

2.3 The Csángó Széklers

In the 18th century, after the Siculeni/Mádéfalva Massacre⁴, many Széklers crossed the Carpathian and escaped to Moldavia. Those who stayed in the Moldavian Voivodate became one of the subgroups of Csángó people. They are called by some historians Székler Csángós and by others Széklers of Moldavia. It seems that some of the Széklers once in Moldavia stayed together and did not mix with the Hungarian population already living there. They formed

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The Mádéfalva Massacre which means 'murder of Széklers, was a mass murder committed against Széklers by the Habsburg army in 1764, under Maria Theresa.

homogenous inhabited only by Széklers, villages such as Pustiana, Frumoasa, Lespezi and others. Other Széklers joined however, existing villages which were inhabited by Hungarians dating back to the Middle Ages, such as Gioseni, Luizi-Călugăra, Cleja etc.

The Székler's influence on those villages both on their tradition, folklore and language were so strong that they tended to submerge the original dialects. As one can see some of the villages were inhabited by the so called southern Csángós.

It is very interesting that there is no historical evidence showing that the northern Csángós ever mixed with the Széklers. Some explain this situation as to the higher density in the northern Csángó territories and to the high number of villages.

2.3.1 The situation of the Csángó Székler language

It is not endangered like the northern Csángó. During the years researchers have even noticed an increase in the number of Hungarian speakers between the years 1930-1992. The following are some of the reasons for the maintenance of their language: the proximity to the Székler land and the closer relations to it, the fact that their language is closer to literary Hungarian, the settlements are established fairly recently in comparison with the northern Csángó villages, they have a stronger awareness of Hungarian origins, there is no surrounding Romanian population and there are still people who remember the Hungarian schools in 1950. All these reasons have slowed down the process of assimilation.

What this shows is that even in the cases of the younger population although their first language is Romanian, they can use a dialect of Hungarian as a second language. However, the likelihood of them passing their language to their children is low.

In conclusion, their language situation is not as favorable as of the Hungarians in Transylvania or the Széklers in Székler Land but much better than the situation of the northern Csángós, which will be described in the subsequent discussion.

2.4 The Csángós of Moldavia (the northern and southern)

The present situation:

Csángó is the official name as well as the popular name for Hungarians living in Moldavia. However, as already mentioned, the Moldavian Hungarians do not constitute a homogenous group either historically or linguistically. Historians differentiate between the so called Csángós who settled in the Middle Ages around the 13th , 14th century, and the Széklers who settled much later, who were discussed in the previous section. Although in popular Hungarian usage, the name Csángó refers not only to the Moldavian Hungarians but also to other Hungarian speaking communities in Romania, such as the Hungarians in Bukovina, in the Gyimes/Ghimeş valley in the Carpathians or in the ‘seven

villages' area/ Hetfalu, near Braşov, linguists differentiate between those groups and the Hungarians in Moldavia for both historical and linguistic reasons.

In the academic literature the term Csángó is only used for the Moldavian Hungarians dividing them further into two subgroups, Northern Csángós and Southern Csángós, as will be explained in the subsequent discussion.

2.4.1 The origin and the status of the word CSÁNGÓ

According to Hungarian language dictionaries, the word Csángó originates from the word 'csángál' and 'elcsángál' meaning 'to wander, to detach/separate oneself from the others'. Moreover, csangó, csángó = nomad, traveler, a person who changes its place of residence.

According to the Romanian dictionary DICȚIONARUL LIMBII ROMÂNE MODERNE Bucureşti 1958: CEANGĂU, ceangăi: A person that is member of a Hungarian population that settled in the 13th century in the region of Bacău, it originates from the Hungarian word 'Csángó'.

PROBLEMS WITH THIS TERM

Due to strong stigmatization over the years, the community I have worked with is against this label to such an extent that it denies even knowing who the Csángós are. The villagers all refer to themselves as Catholics and to the language that they speak as Hungarian. This is why in order to respect their sensitivity and beliefs I have decided not to make use of the word Csángó but use Northern Moldavian Hungarian (NMH) to talk about their language. However, for explanatory purposes in this chapter only, I will still use the term Csángó for the speaker and the language spoken by them.

2.4.2 Sociolinguistic Aspects

The origin of the Csángós

There are main theories to the origins of the Csángós, such as the romantic view that the Csángós are the successors of the Cumans, and the ideologically based theory advocated by Romanian nationalists such as the historian Martinaş (1985) that the Csángós are Romanians who were Magyarised by the Catholic

Church. However, the currently accepted view is that the Moldavian Hungarians arrived at their present settlements sometime in the Middle Ages⁵ and came from the West. Ideas differ however, as to when exactly they have arrived and from which parts of the Hungarian populated lands they migrated. It is however, accepted that the original Csángós settled in Moldavia as part of a systematic Hungarian imperial policy to help control and defend the eastern frontier of Hungary. These borders ran along the River Siret. In the beginning their settlements were part of the defense strategy of the Hungarian King in order to defend his kingdom against nomadic tribes which were attacking from the direction of the south Russian steppe. In order to establish a buffer state between the nomadic tribes and the Hungarian Kingdom, the Hungarian King Louis the great gave his permission to Dragoș, the Romanian Voivode ⁶of Maramureș, to

5 The Middle Ages was a period in European history from the 5th century to the 15th century, following the fall of the Western Roman Empire and preceding the beginning of the early modern era.

6 Voivode which literally means 'One who leads warriors', is a Slavic title that originally denoted the principal commander of a military force. The word gradually came to denote the governor of a province. The territory ruled or administered by a voivode is known as a voivodeship. In the Romanian medieval principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, voievode became part of the official titulature of the sovereign prince, showing his right to lead the entire army.

move to Moldavia and found in 1350 the Moldavian Principality. From the 14th – 16th century, a wave of Hungarians settled in the Moldavian Principality and played an important role in the life of the court of the Moldavian Voivode as well as in the social and economic life in Moldavia.

Although most of the forefathers of the Csángós lived in villages, doing agriculture work, they also contributed to the development of the urban life in Moldavia such as founding the town of Bacău which very soon after became a trading center. Different from many farmers at that time the Csángó farmers owned their fields, and were independent from anyone but the Voivode. Moreover, during this time and until the 16th century, the Hungarian Kingdom had a lot of military and religious influence on the area. For example, the Catholic priests in Moldavia were all Hungarians. However, this situation changed dramatically at the end of the 16th century when The Habsburg and the Ottoman empires occupied western and central Hungary. The situation in Moldavia itself was not any better, as it became a seat of war of Ottoman,

Transylvanian and Wallachian troops. Towns and villages were demolished, poverty and epidemic diseases spread in the area. Catholic communities lost their priests and Hungary did not have the possibility to send new priests, or Hungarian monks. The Vatican took over all the Roman Catholic activities in Moldavia sending Polish or Italian priests to Moldavian Hungarian villages. This situation was the beginning of a permanent situation of isolation of the Hungarians in Moldavia. This sense of isolation was so strong during the following centuries that even the fact that a new wave of Hungarians migrated from Transylvania to Moldavia (the Széklers) did not help to change this disconnection from the Hungarian language and culture. Mostly because the Széklers were considered more part of the nobility and in most cases did not join existing Hungarian villages but built new ones. This point was already discussed in the previous sections 2.2 and 2.3.

In the 19th century the isolation was completed by a conscious assimilation policy of the new Romanian nation state.

Demographics

The Csángó live in Moldavia, Romania in more than 90 villages. They settled at the foothills of the Carpathian Mountain. Today there are two main towns, in this area, Roman and Bacău. Those concentrated in the county of Bacău are called the southern Csángós and those concentrated in the area surrounding the city of Roman are called the northern Csángós. The largest and most central villages of northern Csángós are Săbăoani and Pildești. The most important villages of the southern Csángós are Valea Seacă, Gălbeni, Valea Mare, and Gioseni.

The great mass of the first migration wave of Csángós populated the area surrounding Roman. Only later when the population grew constantly and a new migration wave arrived they also settled in the southern part near the city of Bacău today. The Székler group that arrived much later settled in the southern strip around Bacău and in the western part. As already mentioned the Széklers mixed themselves with the southern Csángós.

The Basic organization of the Csángó community society

Kinship is their most important basic organization. They recognize each other according to family relationship. The stratification of their society is based on these relationships and most important wealth. As they conduct a fairly egalitarian peasants' life, their societies do not have a clear social stratification such as nobility, craftsman, civil servants and intellectuals.

Csángó identity

Religion is the most important factor that keeps this society together. There is no we-consciousness. As already mentioned until the 17th century the Csángós were well integrated in the Moldavian society. After this period they experienced a total isolation both from Hungarian culture and also from their Romanian neighbors. The two main reasons is that the Csángós neither participated in the formation of the Hungarian nation in the first half of the 19th century nor in the creation of the Romanian state around the same time. As a result, they have no Hungarian national feelings; they do not share the knowledge and respect of the

common language and culture, symbols, national holidays and history of the Hungarian nation.

Before the creation of the Romanian state they had equal interests and life styles to their Romanian neighbors. The creation of the state offered the Moldavian Romanians a new ground with which they could identify but it did not offer this to the Csángós for several reasons. One reason is that Romanian was considered the National Language; however, a much stronger reason that has kept the Csángós from integrating in the new society is religion, as the main religion connected to the new Romanian national identity was Eastern Orthodox and not Roman Catholic.

Hence, one can see that the most important component of the Csángó identity is religion which organizes their society and their whole essence of life.

In conclusion, religion is their National identity. When a Csángó person is asked who they are and what is their nationality, they neither answer Romanian nor Hungarian but in one breath they say: I'm Catholic.

However, their loyalty to their villages is also very important to them; hence, they identify themselves as Moldavian Catholics. Thus, their loyalty to Moldavia shows that the Csángó identity is also connected to the Romanian environment, Romanian Moldavian culture.

My research deals only with Northern Csángó language and its speakers. Firstly, the loss rate of northern Csángó is much higher than that of southern Csángó. According to Tanczos (1997,1999) in 1992 the southern Csángó population was about 12,979, out of which an estimate of 9520 still spoke the language to some degree or other, and from a population of 21,094 of northern Csángós, only 8,180 spoke the language. Secondly, the first settlers as already mentioned settled in the northern Csángó area and the northern Csángós never mixed with the Széklers, hence their language was not influenced by the Székler language as did the southern Csángós.

Thus, as my research deals with the Northern Csángó language and people, the following sections will describe the two main villages in which I have

conducted my fieldwork. I will discuss the cultural and economic situation of the northern Csángós, as well as the role of religion in the northern Csángós life. Finally, I will devote a section to the language affiliation and its status providing some explanations as to why the Northern Csángó language is endangered and will disappear in less than a generation.

2.4.3 The Csángós in the villages of Săbăoani and Pildești

Description of the villages

The village of Săbăoani (Hungarian Szabófalva) is part of the commune of Săbăoani in Neamț County, Romania. It is composed of two villages, Săbăoani and Trăian. In 2002, the commune had a population of 10,301. More than 97% of its inhabitants are Roman Catholics.

A commune (comună in Romanian) is the lowest level of administrative subdivision in Romania. The commune is the rural subdivision of a county (urban areas, such as towns and cities within a county, are given the status of city or municipality).

There is no clear restriction on the population of a commune, even though when a commune becomes relatively urbanized and exceeds approximately 10,000 inhabitants it is usually granted city status (despite cities being on the same secondary administrative level as communes they do have a more powerful form of local government). Some urban or semi-urban areas of less than 10,000 inhabitants have also been given city status.

Each commune is administered by a mayor. A commune is made up of one or more villages.

As of the present the commune of Săbăoani has a total area of administration of 8.246 acres and around 10.301 stable inhabitants out of which 5.114 women. Although most of the economic activities of the inhabitants is agriculture, there are three other main economic activities such as 1) working in the factories of Roman municipality which is very close by, 2) having private businesses in the village such small bakeries, grocery stores, and 3) small ateliers of industry such as building, joinery, and tailory. As already mentioned, the majority of the

population owns their own agriculture land which they cultivate. They have their own animals for self subsistence.

In the comune Săbăoani there is one educational institute from elementary school to high school. Culturally speaking, there is one very old and never opened library. However, there is a very nice and functional cultural center, which children/youngsters can attend for free after school. They can participate in cultural activities such as dancing, folklore, art, traditional artisianry etc. However, there is no mentioning of Csángó language classes or any classes introducing kids to the Csángó language.

At the comune level they have an agriculture centre, a small veterinary clinic, a post office, a cheque branch etc.

Although researchers claim that there is no clear social stratification such as nobility, craftsman, civil servants and intellectuals in the Csángó society, some social stratification does exist in the village of Săbăoani. The mayor who lives in the village holds a high social status and is much respected; so are the priests.

There are few intellectuals in the village, some local teachers and poets. They too are nicely talked about. People with university degrees are also looked upon. The elders that know how to read and write are considering themselves somehow more superior.

Finally, at the entertainment level, they have one restaurant, two coffee shops, a pizzeria, a disco, an indefinite number of pubs/taverns. For transportation the village has bus services to the city of Roman, as well as local train station; as personal transportation they use mainly carriages with horses or cows as means to go outside the village and bicycles and small motorcycles inside the villages. Some villages have cars but not many.

The village of **Pildești** together with other two villages, Cordun and Simionești compose the Cordun commune in Neamț County. In the east it neighbors the village of Săbăoani. It takes no more than 10 minutes by car to reach from one village to the other. It has an approximate population of 4200 people out of which more than 1000 people are working abroad. It is considered

one of the richest Csángó villages. Although most of the economic activities of the inhabitants are agriculture, a lot of villagers opened private businesses in the village such small bakeries, grocery stores, small ateliers of industry such as building, joinery, etc.

The majority of the populations are Catholics and as in the village of Săbăoani religion is a very important part of the villagers' daily life both young and old. They have a parish Church to which they donate annually around 100 dollars per family.

The cultural and economic situation of the Csángós in the villages of Săbăoani and Pildești

The great majority of the Csángós are peasants who own and cultivate their own land. As in any society there is visible difference between the lives of the elders (grandparents), the younger generation (the parents) and the young generation (the children/teenagers).

The elders live from an almost complete subsistence economy. They identify subsistence with independence. They usually have a very modest pension, which they receive from the government for the time they worked as peasants in agricultural communities during the communist period. However, mostly they still live from what they cultivate. Their methods of agriculture are rather primitive, a reason why some of them complain about the undeveloped agriculture methods that they use now in comparison to the much more modern ones they used during the communist time.

They exchange goods at markets. However, in the village of Săbăoani for example, they have some modern coffee shops and pizza shops that some of the elders also like to attend.

The younger generation mostly works in agriculture and construction usually abroad in countries such as Israel, Spain, Greece etc. The money earned is usually send to their families in the Csángó villages and used to build modern houses and mansions with very modern facilities and interiors. Interesting

enough when they return to Romania, they return not to an urban life but again to their villages and modern houses. They come back to the same life they left behind, to the same agriculture work. For some it is very hard to get used to the old life again.

In Săbăoani, there is a high-school and a cultural center for the teenagers. Some of them even go to universities in Romania or in Hungary as education is considered very important now in the Csángó society.

In the academic literature describing the lives of the Csángós a pretty romantic view of their lives is presented such as the fact that they live in a very archaic medieval cultural atmosphere (Benedek 1997). However, during my field trips to this area especially in the villages of Săbăoani and Pildești, I have witnessed that although a somehow traditional life is being led, the process of modernization is very high. In a lot of households with youngsters there is internet access. The elders themselves are very familiar with the notion of

computer, cell phones and internet to some extent. They might not use those facilities but they see them in use and know of their existence.

The role of Religion in the Csángós life as observed in the village of Săbăoani

After living with the community in Săbăoani, the following are some of the observations I can make regarding their way of living, their identity, and we-consciousness. The main common denominator that holds the Csángó society together is their religion. This is a natural part of their life, practicing daily folk believes. Religion is not something they remember doing every Sunday only, but a way of life that determines morality and every particular activity in their lives. One such example is the annual feast on the day of the patron saint of the local churches and pilgrimages to other churches. The community turns out to people who do not follow some religious prescriptions. It is the priests that have the social control in the Csángó community. The priests are very aware of their power of dictating and educating the population; hence, they are prepared to welcome both traditional and more modern ways of thinking in order to attract

both the older generation as well as the younger generation. In the village every Sunday there are three liturgies, for the elders of the village, the younger population and the children/teenagers. They attract the younger generation through PowerPoint presentations in the church itself explaining them each Sunday a different spiritual idea as well as day to day topics. They also organize movie evenings for the youngsters, sports days and other events.

All the villagers attend those liturgies with great enthusiasm. The villagers that cannot attend because of health issues can listen to the prayers which are directly transmitted via an audio system to their houses. Hence, a co-existence of the traditional and modern values can be detected.

Describing the role of the priest is of importance because only by understanding the essential and significant role the priest holds in the Csángó community, will the reader understand the next explanation of the effect the priests themselves had in the language loss situation in these villages.

2.5 Northern Csángó: Language affiliation and status

Northern Moldavian Hungarian is a Finno-Ugric language, the closest relative to Hungarian. Despite its almost millennium-long history, it is undocumented. Due to Romanian attempts of homogenization and Hungarian prescriptivism which is not focused on preserving or describing a ‘non-standard’ language and Hungarian efforts to ‘spread’ Standard Hungarian to this region, Northern Moldavian Hungarian is endangered and will disappear in the next generation. Furthermore, it was officially banned from religious and educational use up until the early 1990s and remains unused in these spheres. Northern Moldavian Hungarian has not developed any writing system.

Less than 20% of the Csángó population speaks the language while the majority of the remaining 80% became Romanian monolingual. The usage of this minority language is completely constrained in the village life. According to my own experience, only elderly women speak the language; I found very few male speakers. The language of the church, offices, schools and work outside the

home village and agriculture life is exclusively Romanian. The main communication between people below the age of 65-70 is in Romanian. I have found only one family in the entire village of Săbăoani whose 50 year daughter spoke the language with her mother on a daily basis.

In conclusion, the number of speakers cannot be estimated on census data as Northern Moldavian Hungarian has never been a recognized category for language or ethnicity on census materials, hence it is estimated based on the number of Roman Catholics in the area which is the main correlate of ethnic origin. Northern Moldavian Hungarian is spoken by no more than 3000 people, mainly elderly women in Săbăoani (Szabofalva), and Pildești (Kelgyest), Neamț County, North-Eastern Romania. Northern Moldavian Hungarian is becoming seriously endangered, with no monolingual speakers left and no bilingual speakers below 60. Today it is the means of personal communication among elderly females and in linguistically endogamous marriages. The remaining speakers are functionally illiterate in Romanian, but Romanian orthography is

used in the written fragments of the language (e.g. grave markers, personal letters).

2.6 The present situation of Northern Csángó Language

There are only two language enclaves where the descendants of medieval non-Széklers Moldavian Hungarians have survived: the northern Csángós, north of Roman and the southern Csángós but only in some villages south of Bacău.

From the 17th century on, the population of the Northern Csángó villages has shifted from Hungarian speakers to Romanian speakers. Although according to other researchers, today in this area there are only few villages in which Northern Csángó is still spoken those are Săbăoani and Pildești, Iugani and Plocusteni, I could only find fluent Csángó speakers in Săbăoani and in Pildești.

It is merely impossible to estimate correctly the number of the Csángó speakers, some researchers such as Tanczos (1999) claim that there are around 9800 of Northern Csángó speakers and around 6700 Southern Csángó speakers and about 34000 Székler Csángó speakers. However, from a linguistic point of

view it is very hard to make such rigid calculation because in a lot of villages the people are already mixed and cultural assimilation and language assimilation occurred. Plus, it also depends on how many people have really declared themselves Csángós or not.

From my fieldtrips to the area I could not estimate more than 3000-4000 speakers of Csángó out of which only very few are fluent speakers. I worked with twelve consultants. All of them except one were elderly women 67 years and older. I had just one male contributor which was the husband of one of the consultant from Pildești. He sometimes joined the sessions.

The explanation to this situation is three folded; historical/religious circumstances, language policy, and language attitude.

2.6.1 Historical/religious circumstances

The missionary organization that took over the spiritual care of the Moldavian Catholics in 1622 sent mostly Italian and Croatian priests to Moldavia, never Hungarian priests. During this period also the episcopate was

taken from Hungary and given to Poland. In the beginning of the 19th century the situation worsened. The Romanian nation state was born and National feelings became so strong that the Romanian Orthodox Church found it humiliating that on the territory of the Romanian state Rome pursued missionary activity as if it was not a Christian area, so Rome called back all the monks. The Catholic seminaries that were founded trained young Romanian priests were much more demanding in questions of language than their predecessors.

Moreover, in the 19th century schooling became widespread in Moldavia. The language of instruction was only Romanian. At first religion was not taught at school but in church; hence, it was taught in Csángó. So there was a kind of bilingualism. However, later religion started being taught at school as well using Romanian. And finally, in 1930 a school of deacons was founded and all the Hungarian old songs and prayers were translated into Romanian. The deacons who did not teach in Romanian were dismissed. In 1930, priests could excommunicate people who spoke Csángó while doing communal work or at

their homes. They could imprison deacons if they found Hungarian prayer books in their houses. Priests would even threaten people that they won't be buried properly if they would be caught talking in Csángó. Hence, as the priest has a very important role in the Csángó community, the fact that the priest declared their language as a devil language or as a bird language was one of many causes that bilingualism stopped and Csángó speakers lost their language.

A modern example of the attitude of the priests towards the Csángó language and community can be seen on the website of the Church of the village of Pildești: http://Pildești.ro/?page_id=5.

‘Acolo, in sud –estul Trasilvaniei, stramosii catolicilor din Pildești au trecut inainte de venirea lor in Moldova, printr-un „process de securizare”, in urma caruia au devenit bilingvi, vorbind atat romaneste (in grai ardelenesc), cat si ungureste. Existenta, atat in graiul romanesc transilvanean, cat si in cel unguresc ceangau, a unor particularitati lingvistice specifice, cum ar fi „ rostirea siflata”, constatate si in satele romanesti din Transilvania, constituie argumente puternice

privind originea romaneasca a catolicilor din Pildești. Tot in urma acelui „process de securizare” a aparut si termenul „ceangau” ,cu sens de „strain” , „instrainat” , fiind un nume calitativ si nu unul etnic, termenul raportat de catre unii in mod nejustificat si la adresa catolicilor din Pildești , respins de buna dreptate de acestia.’

Follows my own translation to the text:

The information provided by the website regarding the origin of the inhabitants of the village is that the Csángós were Hungarized or as they call it the Széklerization movement. According to this website the village of Săbăoani is at least from the 16th century if not older. The catholic inhabitants of the village came to the village in 18th century from Transylvania in order to form the Romanian and Székler frontier regiment. Before coming to Moldavia the catholic inhabitants of Pildești have undergone in Transylvania a ‘Széklerization process’, which resulted in them becoming bilingual, talking Romanian (the Transylvanian dialect) and Hungarian. Moreover, it also claims that specific

linguistic characteristics of the way these Catholics speak Romanian and Csángó Hungarian can be found in Romanian villages in Transylvania. Hence, this is a strong argument that the Catholics living in Pildești are of Romanian and not Hungarian origin. This is how according to the Church's website the name Csángó came to life, estranged people. The church authorities continue and claim that the Catholics of Pildești rightfully disagree being called Csángós because they feel they are Romanians who unfortunately have undergone a Széleization process.

2.6.2 Language policy

The language policy of the Romanian state towards the Csángó is very assimilationist⁷. This movement is based on the idea that was also promoted in Martinaș's book that the Csángós are 'Hungarized Romanians' which must be re-assimilated to their original language and culture. This basically means that

⁷ Cultural assimilation (often called merely assimilation) is a process of consistent integration whereby members of an ethno-cultural group (such as immigrants, or minority groups) are 'absorbed' into an established, generally larger community. This presumes a loss of many characteristics of the absorbed group. All of this is legally re-enforced, within the assimilation model, by laws that forbid any formal governmental recognition being given to groups of different kinds. Legally, all citizens are simply recognized as citizens, as opposed to 'French Algerians' for example.

the Csángós are not recognized by the Romanian state as a minority and so they are excluded from all rights other minorities enjoy in Romania, such as the right of having education in their mother tongue or even classes in that language. For example, the Romanian ministry of education allows other recognized minorities to teach their mother tongue at school three to four times per week in elementary and in high-schools. My consultants now at least 70 years old told me that when they were little and going to school the teachers forbid them to use their language telling them that if you live in Romania you have to speak in Romanian. They would be punished if heard using their language.

It is believed that the state uses the church, the most respectable authority in the eyes of the Csángós, as a means of assimilation.

According to Csoma & Bogdanfavy 1993:165 before the 1992 census in Romania, a bishop's letter ordered the priests to call the attention of their flocks to what they should answer when they are asked about their nationality. They

were told not to choose Csángó which was one of the options but Romanian, as they are Roman Catholics⁸.

The Csángó as a group do not have real political representation. Although, an association of Csángó-Hungarians was founded in 1989, this does not mean that they have any political power. This foundation has very few members.

There were a couple of ‘rescue’ missions of the Csángó culture and language which failed because they were not well organized; they had no pedagogical, cultural and linguistic planning. They resulted in fiasco and failure because of ideological and political interferences. All these rescue missions were organized by Hungary or by Hungarian organizations. The goal of those missions was to make the Csángós aware that they are part of the Hungarian nation. As already mentioned in the previous discussions, the Csángós do not feel part of the Hungarian nation as they did not participate in its settlement. They think of

⁸ The pronunciation in Romanian of the word Romanian and roman is very similar.

themselves as Roman Catholics and as Romanian citizens. Most of the speakers feel much more related to Romania as a country than to Hungary.

There are two forms of 'rescue'. One is a strange kind of tourism from Hungary in order to awaken the Hungarian national feelings of the Csángós. This tourism has included taking Csángó folk groups or even just peasants to Hungary and asking them to dress in their traditional costumes. Csángó children were taken to summer camps in Hungary. Moreover, Hungarians are going for a folklore hunt to Moldavia into the Csángó villages in order to show their appreciation of the Csángó tradition and culture.

Another type of 'rescue' mission is the introduction of Csángó culture to Transylvania and Hungary through electronic media, conferences, and folk festivals. This by itself is an important attempt. Nevertheless, it is also dangerous because the picture introduced was an idealized picture of the Csángó people plus it was much politicized. Hence, it had its negative connotations.

The biggest and most controversial attempt to rescue the Csángó language happened in 1990 in the euphoric atmosphere of political changes both in Hungary and Romania. It was organized with the help of the Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania. Csángó primary school students and young adults were brought to Hungary and Transylvania to get their education there. The idea was to educate a first generation of Csángó intellectuals in their ‘original mother tongue’ – Hungarian after so many years of subjugation. This type of thinking has at its bases that the Csángó belong and better said feel part of the Hungarian nation. However, this revitalization operation was a failure. Most of the Csángó students who participated in this operation gained bitter experiences about the intolerance of the Transylvanian and Hungarian communities towards their culture and towards their language, Csángó. Basically, the revitalization wasn’t of Csángó but they were taught in Hungarian.⁹

⁹ My consultants were not happy with the idea that they need to be rescued plus they were not happy with the idea that some movements would like the church to preach in Hungarian. They said that all their lives they prayed in

In conclusion, this rescue made the Csángós feel even more defenseless. The Hungarian governments never had a responsibly planned strategy for supporting the Csángó minority. The strategy of the support should avoid nationalistic ideologies and be first of all economical and legal aid.

2.6.3 Language attitude – how do the Csángós themselves view their language and why

The consultants were very reluctant to use their language at first. They kept saying that their language is a ‘bird language’ and that it was impure that if I want to learn the real good language or the pure language, I should go to Hungary. It took me a lot of time to explain to them how valuable their language is. Finally, they were so happy and proud of the fact that American researchers came to study their language that they started using their language proudly when talking to each other. Moreover, their grandchildren started respecting their

Romanian, and that they do not understand the Hungarian language from Hungary in order to be able to hear the liturgies in Hungarian.

grandparents' knowledge and sat during the sessions in order to hear their grandmothers' teach the language. Some even took notes and repeated the words or phrases their grandparents' uttered.

Hence, one reason for the negative attitude towards the Csángó language is the assimilationist policy of the Romanian state and of the Catholic Church in Romania. Another reason is the strong prejudice that Széklers in Romania hold against the Csángós. They see them as people whose speech is unpleasant and who cannot speak proper Hungarian. The Csángós themselves have a strong inferiority complex towards the Széklers and a lot of times they switch to Romanian in front of them. A third reason is the negative attitude Csángó students and foreign workers encountered in Hungary. Although, in Hungarian literature, Csángó language is presented as the most beautiful ancient or medieval form of Hungarian language', the real attitude of the Hungarian society towards the Csángós who came to study or work in Hungary was one of stigmatization. Their dialect was not welcomed and they were mocked at. Their

language was seen as an undeveloped version of Hungarian which is corrupted by Romanian. The Csángós themselves were in shock to find out that they cannot understand the Hungarian spoken in Hungary and that their speech is not understood as well.

Hence, the main usage of Csángó is in the family (and almost never in public)¹⁰, or between friends regarding village business, small talk, but everything that has to do with public and religious matters is done in Romanian. Except one of my consultants, none of them knew prayers and songs in Csángó but solely in Romanian.

Finally, the prestige of the Northern Csángó language is very low as both the social and cultural prestige is low. The low social prestige expresses itself by the fact that the elderly and the middle aged agree with the younger generation that knowing this language is not of importance, it will just bring to stigmatization as

¹⁰ The consultants always switched to Romanian even during the sessions if one of their neighbors that they did not trust or was not part of their social circle would suddenly join us and sit with us on the porch.

it is associated with backwardness and a rural poor society. Moreover, the speakers do not believe that by knowing the language the young generation will achieve social success and advantages. Hence, there is no interest whatsoever to pass the language to the younger generation. Nevertheless, I felt that during my fieldtrips, the elderly started taking pride of their knowledge and started using their language in public such as the market, and the cultural center.

The lack of cultural prestige is illustrated by the fact that the speakers do not feel any loyalty to their ethnic community or better said as discussed in the previous sections the speakers see their religion as their ethnicity. As Csángó has no written system no Csángó literature has been written. They do not seem to be very interested in their folklore, one such example was the fact that my consultants and other village members of Săbăoani and Pildești were throwing away their traditional clothing or using them as kitchen towels. They explained to me that when they were younger these things were of great importance and value and given as dowry from generation to generation. However, now these

handmade artisanal has lost its value and the younger generation sees them as a sign of the old times and backwardness. Just as a side note, after seeing how interested I was in their tradition and artisanal some of the consultants started showing me all their clothes, handmade blankets, shirts and even took out their traditional manual weaving machines and showed me how they worked. One of my consultants even wore her traditional clothing to church one day.

As already discussed above the speakers' attitude towards their language is partially influenced by the language policy of Romania, the religious figures and the stigmatization the Northern Csángós have encountered from both the Széklers in Transylvania and more important the Hungarians in Hungary.

Last but not least one should ask why I could only find women speakers. There is a socio-linguistic explanation to the fact that only elderly female speakers of the language were available. As men went to work outside the village they were not spending enough time with their mothers at home even not as children in order for the language to be passed to them. Moreover, as they

grew up they were more likely to be exposed to the Romanian language living away from home for periods of time again losing contact to their mother tongue. And finally, according to my consultants it was their fathers that prohibited the usage of the language in the house when they were around because they felt it will only hold the children behind, they will suffer at school and not be able to advance in society if they do not speak Romanian as their first language.

2.7 Previous research on NMH

The only structured research on Northern Moldavian Hungarian dates back to early 1910s, by comparative historical grammarian Yrjö Wichmann, who during a 6-month field trip compiled a dictionary, unfortunately collapsing data from three significantly different dialect areas. Linguistically analyzable recordings have not been made; sound recordings before were only side products of ethnomusicological and general anthropological research, which are not digitized and unavailable to the public.

Another source could be the poetry book written by Mitică Lăcătușu (1911-1974), a local poet of the village of Săbăoani. This book was published in 2003 in Budapest, Hungary: Lakatos Demeter Csángú országba. Nevertheless, the published book is in Standard Hungarian and not in the language of his village, Northern Moldavian Hungarian. Hence, this data is not useful for language research purposes.

Another source is Klara Sandor's description of the Csángó dialects or vernacular as she calls it. Her research is based 14 hours of recordings. 8 interviews conducted in 1995 Cleja a village in the Southern Csángó area by her and a Csángó student of hers. Other 4 interviews conducted in the village of Pildești, Norther Csángós by a former Csángó student of hers who studied in Szeged. And finally some more interviews were conducted with 4 of her Csángó students from the villages of Săbăoani, Valea Scaca, Pustiana, and Cleja who were studying in Szeged and some interviews with middle aged speakers from

those villages. Using these interviews she describes the different varieties of Csángó.

Her research mostly points out the differences between Hungarian and the Székler Csángó dialects. It also deals with contact induced features, lexical and structural borrowings and degrees of bilingualism.

These previous studies are based on a very small database which is usually mixed between all the varieties of Csángó languages. Moreover, they concentrate mostly only on those features of Csángó dialects which are different from standard Hungarian or which differentiate between the Hungarian Csángó and the Székler Csángó, so failing to show a comprehensive picture of the Csángó varieties themselves.

The present work focuses on Northern Moldavian Hungarian (Northern Csángó) because of its unique situation. It was isolated from Hungarian for more than 700 years and in close contact with Romanian. It is endangered. Northern Moldavian Hungarian and Standard Hungarian are not mutually intelligible.

Being so isolated from Hungary and in close contact with Romanian has forced them to borrow Romanian vocabulary into their language as well as Romanian grammatical structures. It is also not similar to Székler Hungarian in Transylvania and as already mentioned there is no historical evidence showing that the northern Csángós ever mixed with the Széklers that moved to Moldavia.

This work is based on data collected by in the villages of Săbăoani (Szabofalva), and Pildești (Kelgyest). I have spend 4 full month in these villages working with 12 consultants, five to six on a daily basis and the other five for clarification purposes and occasional sessions. All of them except one were elderly women 67 years and older. It is based on 160 hours of recordings, a 14782 sentence Toolbox database with a 1441 word quadri-lingual word list. I have used a variety of methods such as structured elicitation, translation of stories, narrating video clips, narrating pictures, pear story, frog stories, free conversation as well as multiple-party conversations. All the data was checked with all the consultants. In chapter 3 the methodology used in the present work

will be elaborated. This work studies NMH on its own right as a language and does not describe NMH always in relation to Hungarian as to how it diverges from it. I believe that in order to get a full understanding of NMH one has to first learn and describe the language in isolation. A comparative study is of importance, the question that should be asked then is it correct to compare it to Modern Hungarian or is a comparison of it with Old Hungarian, more valid as its speakers left their motherland 700 years ago.

Chapter 3: The role of Methodology in Linguistic fieldwork

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter I will first discuss the different existing fieldwork methodologies and their advantages and disadvantages. Secondly, I will describe on what type of data the present work is based on. The reader will be provided with information on the way this data was collected, and what type of data was used (free conversation, elicitation etc). Specific examples, from the collection of phonological paradigms, the lexicon, grammatical constructions will be used in order to show that while both elicitation and natural speech methods are of importance for data collection natural speech is one of the most significant tools for trustful data. Furthermore, some information regarding specific difficulties of collecting particular data, and more information on the consultants are provided. Finally, more technical information as to the type of equipment and linguistic software is briefly presented.

3.1 Types of methodologies advantages and disadvantages

Three main factors shape the product of fieldwork: the speakers of the language, the sensitivity and well-preparedness of the linguist and the methodologies chosen to document the language. What kind of speakers should one choose, should they be skilled language teachers or should they be everyday people with different backgrounds? These questions are only relevant if there is a large pool of speakers one can choose from, namely if the language usage is spread. In fragile speech communities one will choose the available speakers and record as much data as possible. Moreover should the linguist try to train the speakers to become amateur linguists or not? What type of methodology should one use to accurately describe a language, direct elicitation, natural language flow, translation of texts etc? And finally how should we as linguists prepare ourselves for fieldwork, how should we handle the data and analysis bottom-up supposedly freeing ourselves from having to handle a particular theoretical

framework or top-down which supposedly is more fruitful for the purpose of theory construction.

Choosing the methodology/methodologies for documenting an endangered language might depend on the goal of the particular project. There are cases in which the goal might be very specific such as a particular phenomenon in that language, for example the phonological process of vowel harmony or the formation of negative clauses in a language. Other times the goal might be to describe/document the entire language as thoroughly as possible. Some linguists will work in both cases mostly through elicitation. They will start with a vast number of words, dividing them into word classes, then verb paradigms and conjugations, then provide the speakers with short sentences, then longer sentences. Some will stop here but others will ask the speaker to retell whole narratives from books, picture dictionaries and even conduct translation sessions. Another group of linguists will solely work with free conversation data, discourse data. Researchers from this group strongly believe that any elicitation

influences the consultants' speech causing it not to be natural, causing the speaker to solely translate sentences; hence, not providing an accurate usage of the language itself. Finally, a third method for data collection which is usually done in combination with the elicitation method is grammatical judgments. A lot of linguists create sentences out of whole cloth in the studied language and then ask the consultant about the grammaticality of the sentences. Is this sentence grammatical or not? Or can you say this sentence in your language? , are ways the question is posed to the speakers. Other linguist go one step further in asking for introspective judgments of the speakers because they believe that speakers of a language do share very clear intuitions about certain aspects of their language and sometimes even give valuable explanations as to why a particular sentence is acceptable and another one is not, providing contexts to explain the usage of the sentence in question.

I have not used the grammaticality judgment method because even in the few cases I tried to use it I encountered a variety of problems. The speakers'

judgments varied not only between speakers but also with the same speaker depending on the day her judgment of the same sentence was different. Even for patient and imaginative consultants as I had, it was hard to deal with this type of exercises. Building contexts for some of the sentences was time consuming and even hard to do. Some sentences which sounded ungrammatical at first after no more than ten minutes started sounding acceptable to speakers. Finally, I learned that some consultant judge a sentence ‘ungrammatical’ or as I had to put it for them ‘a sentence that cannot be said’ not only because of grammar reason but also because of cultural reasons. I had a consultant that was not willing to have any sentence regarding religion, especially about the priest who was a very important religious figure for her. Other consultants told me yes one can say this sentence, only for me to later find out that what they meant is that me as a foreigner could say this sentence but they would never say it. Finally, from my own experience as a consultant in field methods class, I can say that even though I was a native speaker of the language with linguistic knowledge background, I

found such type of questioning confusing after a while. Sometimes, sentences that are judged ungrammatical for example regarding word order, if one can find a good context they suddenly become acceptable. Moreover, after an hour of questioning suddenly sentences that are marginally acceptable start sounding plausible.

Hence, I advocate a combination of the elicitation and the natural speech methods. I strongly believe that elicitation and natural occurring speech and narratives are two interwoven methods that used with carefulness will result in a good database for documenting and analyzing the language in question. Both practices are well motivated; by using both one can not only provide a large reservoir of cultural and linguistic information but also reliable grammatical generalizations. There is a need for natural data in order to finalize grammatical observations and generalizations. Elicitation is an important tool but not the only tool for grammatical generalizations. I used elicitation at the beginning of my work in order to get an idea of a variety of vocabulary matters and basic

sentences. It also helped me build a rudimentary understanding of the sound system and in general of the phonology of NMH. Nevertheless, soon after, the need for natural data arose.

Two kinds of natural data was used, one more controlled and the other one completely free. This will be tackled in more detail in the subsequent discussion.

Finally, after carefully transcribing and analyzing the natural data, interesting grammatical phenomena which would have never been found if only elicitation was used arose. At this point I attempted to write a grammatical sketch of the language. This helped me discover what information I needed to refine my analysis and of course what specific grammatical phenomenon was of interest for me to continue researching. Hence, after analyzing this data which was mostly from natural speech data, I went back to the elicitation and native speaker clarification method in order to be able to get a clearer picture of the phenomenon. Consequently, in this case again elicitation helped me to more clearly formulate evidence of grammatical generalizations. However, I did not

use the traditional direct elicitation method but the natural controlled speech method. More precisely, I made up stories which were supposed to prompt the usage of a particular construction, which I knew existed because I found it in the natural conversational data I already had. As the speakers are bilingual Romanian and NMH speakers, the texts, the elicitation and even the daily conversation between me and the speakers were held in Romanian. Finally, the two methods were used depending on my needs; I had some elicitation sessions which followed some free sessions and then again some elicitation sessions. Sometimes, in the same sessions both methods were used. After this short description of how the methods were used together in order to reach the most accurate and complete database possible, I will explain the material used for each method.

3.2 The Elicitation method and materials used in this paper

Some linguists think that elicitation is crucial because in natural conversation one might often omit unusual or often marginal constructions that are possible in the particular language under study. At first, I used elicitation methods especially in order to get an idea of the sound system in NMH. I elicited words from different word classes, mainly using picture dictionaries, pantomime and only when necessary did I provide the word in Romanian in order for the consultant to give me the NMH equivalent, sometimes the equivalent was not a word but a whole expression which showed me that my consultants understood that they do not need to force themselves to find an equivalent term if such term does not exist in their language. This method helped me familiarize with the sound system of a language I have never encountered before. Secondly, I found this method to be very helpful for the consultants themselves; i.e. it made the consultants feel more at ease. The consultants were very reluctant at first to use their language. As explained in Chapter 2 above, their language was stigmatized and considered

a 'bird language'; hence, they were scared and ashamed to use it in public. By starting with the elicitation method, I slowly made the consultants feel at ease with using their own language. Only after 10 elicitation sessions did they start to talk freely in their language and to explain to me a lot of cultural and language related matters that seemed of importance to them.

A short example of the subjects tackled in these sessions:

a) Word lists of: nouns (kinship, kitchen utensils, nature, etc), verbs (which were divided into semantic categories such as verbs of contact, verbs of contact by impact, feeling verbs, touch verbs, verbs of communication, grooming verbs etc) adjectives (countable, uncountable, which were divided into categories such as feeling adjectives, personal quality adjectives)

b) Derivational constructions: word formation from V-N from N-V. After witnessing the existence of such processes from natural speech I tried to make up my own derivations and ask if they exist; this was not very successful

c) Grammatical constructions: the following are just a few of the constructions: transitive constructions, auxiliaries, causatives, reflexive, reciprocals, 'without constructions', frequentatives, possessives, want constructions, constructions using postpositions (locative postpositions), conjunctions, negation (clausal negation, constituent negation)

Natural speech methods used in this paper

1. **Controlled natural speech:** The consultant was given picture books such as the frog stories and asked to describe what s/he sees in the picture. Moreover, videos of short movies such as the pear story and a lot of self-filmed video clips which were trying to trigger middle voice constructions were shown to the consultants who then retold what they have seen after each video-clip. A further example of controlled natural speech were made up stories and fairy tales which I told the consultants and asked them to retell them to me in NMN after listening to the whole story. It could be

claimed that there is a danger of direct translation of the Romanian provided story to NMH, causing speakers to use constructions or even word orders that do not exist or are not frequently used in NMH. As, I was aware of such danger, I was very careful in explaining to my speakers that the task is not to translate the text I told them but to try to retell it in their own words. As the speakers I worked with are illiterate the text they received was not written. They did not have to translate every sentence I said, I asked them to listen to short stories and try to retell them in their own words as they would tell them to their own grandchildren. The stories they were provided, were usually fairy tales which were culturally appropriated. Just as a side note, my speakers enjoyed the stories so much that they told me, they will tell them to their grandchildren. Examples of such self-made stories are provided in Appendix B, it includes the Romanian story, the English translation of it and the way one of my consultants retold it in NMH.

2. **Free conversation:** as I am not even close to fluent in NMH the consultants could not have a free conversation with me at first. Hence, I would ask them in Romanian about a particular event in their lives or in the lives of their community but ask them to tell it to me in NMH. As time passed I got to know enough of the language as to understand and be able to make remarks during their speech. Hence, they felt very comfortable to talk to me in NMH even if I had to answer to them in Romanian or half Romanian, half NMH.

3. **Multi-party conversation:** In order to have data of truly free conversation I recorded a lot of multi-party conversations. I would invite a couple of consultants and we would have a normal conversation about daily life anything they felt willing to talk about/gossip about. Friends were gathering around and talking to each other, sometimes nice Hungarian alcoholic drinks helped the conversations to be very relaxed.

3.3 The choice of speakers

Many researchers believe that grammatical description based on the idiolect of one speaker is indeed a valid picture of the structure of a language. However, I do remember a comment made by Dr. Englebretson in my field methods class that the grammar sketch that we are about to write now is not the grammatical description of Sinhala but the grammatical description of the consultant who is a Sinhala speaker. Hence, keeping this valuable lesson in mind, I tried not to restrict the consultant pool to a single speaker because I do believe it is a fraught with danger.

I worked with 12 consultants out of which 6 were on a daily basis and the other 6 for clarification purposes.

Of course if one works only with one consultant over a long period of time, it makes the elicitation and in general working process with the consultant easier. The consultant starts getting used to the line of questioning and to the working style. One does not need to explain each time what one is looking for. Somehow

the consultant ends up not only understanding simple directions, and metalinguistic tools but also starts analyzing and providing from his perspective theoretical explanations. However, I do believe that there is a tremendous danger in this kind work, the speaker starts understanding the theoretical point of the investigator or in simpler words, understands what the linguist is after, and so the speaker might start helping the linguist with the data so as to get only the cleaned up data, or data that fits nicer to the point the investigator is trying to make.

I encountered just one such speaker, and it happened during direct elicitation of verbal paradigms. Even before I asked the question she was already throwing the answer to me because she started understanding what I was after. I thought very highly of her but I also found it to be a dangerous method to continue if I want my data to be as trustful and valid as possible. Hence, I immediately stopped direct elicitation and went to the controlled natural data collection, as explained above.

Rechecking data with 6 out of the 12 consultants was done in the case of structured elicitation data as well as with the controlled natural data and the natural data. The consultant with whom I was rechecking the data never knew which of the other consultants have uttered the particular construction or sentence. I wanted to avoid the idea that I do not respect the consultants enough or do not trust them enough, hence the need for rechecking or clarification. There is a danger that one consultant might be tempted to view a variation as a mistake if s/he do not respect the consultant whose utterance is being clarified or the opposite, that a mistake will be seen as a variation or just forms which s/he are not familiar with in order not to be over critical of the utterances of their befriended other consultant. Hence, I always made clear that I am asking the speaker's opinion about a sentence in context and not questioning the competency of the original speaker. Most of the times, the speaker was not even aware that I am checking the utterance of a particular speaker. Moreover, the

purpose was not only to clarify something but also to find out if there is another way to utter a particular construction.

In conclusion, although text collection, transcription of natural conversations, and the analysis of those are time-consuming and initially a hard task, in my opinion there is no way an accurate language description or a development of a linguistic theory can be accomplished without free conversation and solely on direct elicitation.

3.4 The role of the speaker and the linguist

I believe that any fieldwork linguist understands that the most important part in their process of describing a language is the native speaker. However, a very important part of the success of their fieldwork is to show the consultants themselves that they are appreciated and that they have the central role in the process of documenting their native language. The speaker must understand that they are the ones who uniquely contribute to the documentation of their language.

The linguist's role is to shape the contribution of the speakers. Especially, in the early stages of their collaboration I have found it important to show through actions that every bit of information the speakers provided is of importance to me. There are so many nice and funny examples in my data that I don't know where to begin. In one of the elicitation session of modals, and in general modality one of the sentences was 'I can prepare alivanka' (a sweet pastry with cheese). The speaker immediately found it of importance to explain to me the whole process of cheese making which took about 20 minutes. I carefully wrote down as much as I could and even stopped and asked questions. Even though I totally deviated from the topic of the elicitation sessions, I truly found this information important and did not steer the speaker back to my track. Firstly, it was a wonderful valuable piece of natural speech. Secondly, even if one is not sufficiently knowledgeable at this particular time to appreciate the volunteered information, I always discovered that almost any piece of information given by

the speakers was valuable to my analysis. Hence, I found it useful to write down and record any information given.

Another such example was when trying to elicit impact by force verbs such as killing, I found the volunteered information more than useful. I just asked ‘how do you say Maria killed Ion’ but the consultant was so excited that after giving me the sentence she continued the story and provided a bunch of verbs I did not even think of eliciting she continued telling me how Maria ‘skinned’ Ion and made shoes out of his skin, she was having so much fun providing me with valuable grammatical constructions, such as causative constructions, and translocative constructions¹¹, as well as middle constructions because poor Maria finally understood the wrongness of her deeds and ‘killed herself’.

Of course, sometimes, the information given was not as relevant as when Maria kissed Petru’ the consultant remembered that there was a Petru in their village years ago and started telling me a story about him. Again even here

¹¹ Translocative case is a form of declension that indicates a change in a noun.

although the information given was not relevant to the elicitation session per se it was extremely valuable as another natural speech data in the early stages of fieldwork.

In conclusion, I strongly believe that the more the speaker/consultant is invited to shape the record, the richer the documentation of the language and the more one can learn about the language and the extent to which languages can vary.

Finally, there is no need to say that we as linguists have to be fully trained and prepared to learn as much as possible about the language we are going to document, the community we are going to work with and of course about the variety of language phenomenon that exist in other languages from the same family as well as in general. Finally, the linguist should be well equipped. In our days this means more than a pencil and a piece of paper which might suffice if the linguist only does direct elicitation. Nevertheless, strings of natural speech

are hard to transcribe on the spot; hence, good recording equipment is a must in our days.

The following are examples of why both elicitation and natural speech methods are of importance, specifically, why natural speech is such an important tool for data collection.

3.4.1 Phonology

Direct elicitation of individual words is the first step I took in order to begin a process of studying a language that I have never encountered before. It was very useful to familiarize myself with the sound system of this language. However, while conducting direct elicitation the commonly used central close vowel /i/ never showed up. However, in free speech this vowel occurred in a lot of words, from different parts of speech classes, both in the middle of the word and in the beginning of words, as for example, in *hirɛg ə kufɔ* ‘the dog growls’, *mijfe* ‘ball’, *zgɪɾfɪt* ‘stingy’, and *in lok* ‘instead’.

The central mid vowel / ə/ only showed up in the middle of the word, nevertheless, in free conversation it also showed up in the beginning of the word, as in *ingɔtɔ bubat sə y el əlut* ‘she was rocking the child and she fell asleep’ and *əglud* ‘mud, soil’.

Another interesting aspect was consonant cluster reduction which I did not see as frequently in elicitation sessions but occurred frequently in free conversation, such as in the word ‘*pujlisbyl*’. The consonant /t/ in the word ‘*list*’ - flour got reduced when the elative suffix + /byl/ was attached.

Hence, a lot of phonological aspects could not be observed in the careful pronunciation of single words, but they do emerge in spontaneous connected speech.

3.4.2 The Lexicon

I found elicitation to be a very useful tool for collecting vocabulary. I started by pointing at things around me, which included furniture, things in nature, the animals I saw around; all the kitchen utensils in the consultants surrounding etc.

Later I continued with more abstract concepts such as kinship terminology. I moved on to simple movement verbs. The consultants were very helpful to provide me with more lexical items as one particular item reminded them of other lexical items.

Nevertheless, in a lot of cases during the elicitation process one does not even think to ask particular words which definitely come up in free conversation. Moreover, if one is not familiar with the language at all one might get wrong elicitations. For example, in the elicitation session of kinship terminology in NMH I asked consultants how one says daughter, son, grandmother, grandfather and so on, nevertheless, most of the consultants provided the first person possessive form of the words such as *fɪɔm* ‘my son’ instead of *fɪɔ* ‘son’. Only later did I understand that they are not providing the unmarked forms. Moreover, if I would have only used the elicitation method the difference in usage between the two forms for the word ‘son’ *fɪɔ* and *fɪu* would not have occurred to me. But by using natural speech as well as controlled natural speech the difference

between these two lexical items arose. Both words can be used in order to express the word ‘son’ but only *fiu* was used to also mean ‘pup of some kind of animal’ such as wolf pup. Moreover, only *fiu* was used by some speakers as a numeral classifier for counting garlic cloves, as in *harəm fiu fokojmə* ‘three cloves of garlic’.

Moreover, when eliciting the verb ‘rub’ the consultants usually used the verb *fən* ‘to wipe, rub, polish’. Nevertheless, in free conversation I encountered a variety of verbs that the consultant said mean a kind of rub, wipe. Only by means of free conversation data could I come up with a more fine grained understanding of the usage of this verb. In other words, the usage of the verbs changed depending on what one rubs and how strongly one rubs for example, *dərgəl* ‘to massage’, *dəfkəl* ‘to wipe off, to scrub powerfully’, and *kən* ‘anoint, lubricate’.

Hence, elicitation was an extremely useful tool in order to collect long lists of basic lexical items and familiarize myself with the language but the most

substantial part of the lexical items and the most interesting vocabulary and abstract concepts emerged only in spontaneous speech and in controlled natural speech.

3.4.3 Grammatical constructions

As my consultants were bilingual Romanian and NMH, the tool of direct elicitation allowed me to check verb conjugations, word formation, negation, causative, reciprocal constructions, transitive constructions, optative constructions, comparatives and much more. Yet here again even more than in the case of vocabulary collection, I felt that elicitation alone does not provide enough versatile data leaving a lot of exiting features of the language unrevealed, as the following discussion will show. Finally, the usage of elicitation solely might also lead to misinterpretations of the data because it is not done in context.

One very clear example as to how only elicitation might lead to wrong conclusions was when I tried to elicit passives in NMH. The conclusion I drew from elicitation sessions is that NMH has no passive constructions. When asked

sentences such as how do you say ‘The apple was eaten by Maria’, consultants kept uttering active sentences such as ‘Maria ate the apple’.

I stopped trying to elicit passive constructions. After a couple of sentences I continued in another direction not making the consultant feel that my task was not achieved because I did not want the consultant to feel for a second that she has to force herself to say a particular sentence. The natural way of saying things was my purpose the whole time.

As I found out but only through free conversation is that NMH has a couple of ways to express passive like constructions in some few cases by using the past tense of the auxiliary very *vɔlb* ‘to be’. Another way is to use the middle suffix – *ud/yd*.

(1)

en **vølek** sipen fɛl vɛtkɛz-vɛ mofu ing-vɛl
 I be.1S.PST nicely PREV dress-ADVP purple shirt-INST

‘I was dressed nicely in a purple shirt.’

(2)

ʃan-ud-ik ranə
 do-MID-3S blister/wound

‘Blisters are made.’

(3)

ɛz uʃuʃkab kə nɛm **ʃan-ud-ik** tɛj-byɫ, **ʃan-ud-ik** soje-k-byɫ
 this cheaper because not do-MID-3S milk-ELA, do-MID-3S soy-PL-ELA

‘This is cheaper because it is not made from milk, it is made from soy.’

And finally, if the adverbial participle is preceded by the copula ‘be’ it sometimes has passive-like meaning.

(4)

kets:ɛr mɛg ult ly-vɛ
 twice PREV be.3S.PST shoot-ADVP

‘He was shot twice.’

(5)

turu fɛl ult tɛ-vɛ zɔstɔl-rɔ
 cheese up be.3S.PST put-ADVP table-SUB

‘The cheese was put on the table.’

Hence, this is just one example on how natural data is needed in order to accurately describe grammatical constructions of a documented language.

In conclusion, natural connected speech is a very important tool in exploring patterns and distinctions that are not consciously understood by the speaker and that might be new to the linguist eliciting them. In other words, the speakers might not have been able to voluntarily retrieve them from direct questioning.

3.5 No description without theory, no theory without description

The camp of the pure theoreticians believe that the only worthy activity is that of theory construction. For many theoreticians description is an uninteresting task done by linguists who have failed to understand what linguistic is really all about. The other camp is the descriptivists who accuse the theoreticians of engaging in fruitless activities in making speculations without having enough data on hand and without caring about all the languages which are dying around them and remain undescribed. As I hope this work will show it is impossible to separate description from theory. A finite description of a language poses and formulates generalization which by itself is theory. Moreover, even if one just describes a language one invokes some a priori categories such as syllables, words, and utterances. At the same level, if one approaches language description from a particular theory which is empirically grounded one leaves a lot of things unaccounted for, and there is a danger of not seeing particular word classes, for example, because in the particular languages one is familiar with these word

classes or constructions do not exist and vice versa, deal with some constructions and recognize particular word classes as something which exist in the languages one is familiar with but do not exist in the language one is describing. Hence, I tried to combine concomitantly description and theory.

3.6 Information about the consultants: age, sex, social status

Eight of the consultants were from the village of Săbăoani and two from Pildești. As the consultants did not want to remain anonymous but were finally proud of their work with me, I feel comfortable to provide a list of their names, age, and some basic information about them. Hopefully, this will also show the speakers how much their contribution is appreciated and valued.

Mrs. Blaj Agnes – estimated age 67, lives in Săbăoani. Tanti Agnes participated in all the elicitation sessions as well as in all the controlled natural speech and in a large number of multi party conversation. She contributed with large amount of free conversation. With this consultant I had daily sessions.

Mr. Romeo – estimated age at the time of the first fieldtrip 80 from Săbăoani.

– Current situation –diseased

Although I did not use Mr. Romeo as a consultant frequently, I have met him in my first fieldtrip and find it important to mention him here because of his hospitality and willingness to contribute to this project. Nevertheless, as it turned out he spoke Hungarian fluently as he was exposed to it through his work in the Székler region.

Mr. Perca Mihaly- estimated age 70 from Săbăoani. He is considered an intellectual in the village as he once participated in the schooling system of the village. I mostly asked his help to verify cultural issues. He also offered introspective information about NMH comparing it a lot of times with Hungarian and Székler Hungarian.

Mrs. Shasar Veta – estimated age of 75/80. Tanti Veta was one of my daily consultants. She participated in all elicitation sessions and contributed a large

amount of multi-party conversations with some of her women friends or neighbors.

Mrs. Susanu Maria estimated age of 75/80, a very close neighbor of Tanti Veta. She also participated in all the elicitation sessions and was part of the multi-party conversations with Tanti Veta as well as with her 50 year old daughter who was the only young NMH speaker that I am aware of. They were also the only two speakers that said they talk NMH to each other on a daily basis. Her daughter does not live in the village but in Roman, the closest city to Săbăoani. With Tanti Mare I held daily sessions.

Mrs. Gherghelas Clara – estimated age of 67 lives in the village of Săbăoani. Participated in all elicitation sessions as well as controlled natural speech sessions but only in a couple of multi party conversations as she was always busy working the fields when the other consultants were free to join all together and talk. With this consultant I had daily sessions.

Mrs. Tereza – estimated age of 67, married and lives in Pildești. Tanti Tereza participated in all the elicitation sessions, controlled natural speech sessions and multi party conversations with her friend and neighbor Tanti Mare. Sometimes her husband would join the conversations. I had at least 3-4 times a week sessions with her.

Mrs. Sula Mare– estimated age 70, lives in Pildești. With Tanti Mare I had a lot of elicitation sessions, as well as controlled natural speech and multi party conversations with her neighbor Tanti Tereza. I had at least 3-4 times a week sessions with her.

Mrs. Calugaru – 80 years old, lives in Săbăoani, is the sister of Mrs. Tereza from Pildești. With her no elicitation sessions and controlled natural speech were conducted but solely natural conversations about the folklore of the region, the customs and the traditions, her childhood etc. These sessions were done occasionally not on a daily basis.

Mrs. Maria –once a week sessions were held with her mostly elicitation in my first field trip and only occasionally sessions in my second field. Although the sessions were only held once a week they were much longer than with the other consultants so I could cover a large amount of elicitation material with her.

Mrs. Sula Kati – estimated age 70; lives in Săbăoani. Some elicitation and some free conversation sessions were done occasionally.

Mrs. Agata – estimated age 75; lived in Pildești. With Tanti Agata I only had the possibility to meet a couple of times because during my second field trip she passed away. The times I did meet here were extremely fruitful contributing a large amount of free conversations. She was the only consultant that knew a lot of traditional folksongs in NMH as well as prayers.

The other speakers from the multi-party conversations are not mentioned because I was not always aware of their names as they joined the conversation at the market place, or just on the porch of my consultants.

3.7 Equipment and Linguistic Software/s

I believe that there is no need in this paper to explain that the existence of sophisticated recording devices is useful, essential and helpful for fieldwork research and analysis. Of course, one can achieve impressive results as linguists have achieved in the past just by being very well ear-trained and manually transcribing the language. However, the existence of recordings and linguistic phonetic software programs as well as other linguistic software which help organize and register the data are of great value. It allows the linguist to record an unlimited amount of natural speech without having to stop the consultant each time to repeat the words. Of course, one can in elicitation sessions recheck the manually transcribed sentences and words with the consultant and this is what I did many times. But in a flow of speech there is no need to stop the consultant. One can transcribe the data after the sessions and just recheck particular parts with the consultant in a different session. Moreover, it allows the observed data to be verified. For some phonetic issues that I was not sure that what I have

heard is correct, I used the free scientific software program for the analysis of speech in phonetics, Praat. Of course I manually transcribed and wrote down a lot of information that was given by the speakers. Nevertheless, I have found the linguistic program toolbox to be a great data management tool and analysis tool. It was especially useful for lexical data, and for parsing and interlinearizing text, but I also used some of its following features: its morphological parser that can handle almost all types of morphophonemic processes, its word formula component that allowed me to describe all the possible affix patterns that occur in words. I especially used its user-definable interlinear text generation system which uses the morphological parser and lexicon to generate annotated text. Interlinear text can be exported in a form suitable for use in linguistic papers.

Last but not least, the recorder that I used is Edirol R-09. I found it very useful it fits in the palm and does not scare the consultant. It records both uncompressed WAV files and MP3s. An additional external microphone can be added if necessary. In some occasions SoundPro Binaural Lapel Microphones or

a protective otter box with microphones was used. The fact that it was digital recording allowed immediate editing and analyzes of the data, when necessary.

In conclusion, my work is based on 160 hours of recordings, a 14782 sentence Toolbox database with a 1441 word quatri-lingual word list. The data was collected from 12 consultants, 6 I met almost on a daily basis and 6 I met occasionally for rechecking the data and for free conversation. The data was collected through direct elicitation, controlled natural conversation and multi party conversations between the consultants and other neighbors that joined the sessions.

Chapter 4: NMH Language Description

As the main focus of this dissertation is the voice phenomenon in Northern Moldavian Hungarian, and more specifically the middle voice, this chapter will mostly deal with the verbal morphology of the language. I will discuss the verbal paradigms in NMH, including the verb stem types, its tenses and moods, the different personal endings of the verbs depending on the mood, tense, verbal stems, and the notion of definiteness. Finally, the NMH copula verb, its form and usage will also be discussed. However, as this is the first time that a lengthy linguistic description of this language is undertaken, it is important to briefly summarize some phonetic aspects, such as an inventory of the sound system, as well as some discussion of important phonological processes, namely, assimilation, vowel harmony and gemination. Moreover, a morphological overview of different parts of speech such as articles, nouns, pronouns (personal, possessive, interrogative, reflexive, and relative pronouns), preverbs, postpositions, adjectives, adverbs, etc., will be provided. Word formation in

NMH will be discussed with a special focus on the derivational morphology of verbs, but also including the derivational morphology of nouns and adjectives.

Finally, the topic of word order of NMH will be touched upon.

4.1 The Sound System of Northern Moldavian Hungarian

The Consonants of NMH

Many of the consonants in NMH are pronounced in a similar way as in English. The following is the list of all consonants of NMH.

	Bilabial	Labio dental	Alveolar	Palato- alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glotal
Nasal	m		n		ɲ		
Plosive	p b		t d		tʃ ʒ	k g	
Affricate			ts dz	tʃ dʒ			
Fricative		f v	s z	ʃ ʒ			h
Trill			r				
(central) Approximant					j		
(lateral) Approximant			l		ʎ		

Table 1 The Consonants of NMH

Phoneme	Example	translation
/p/	[para]	‘money’
/b/	[bɛteg]	‘sick’
/t/	[tistɔ]	‘clean’
/d/	[dolog]	‘thing’
/ʃ/	[nɔʃ]	‘big’
/k/	[kɛr]	‘garden’
/g/	[hidɛg]	‘warm’
/f/	[fog]	‘start’
/v/	[vəʎəmi]	‘some’
/s/	[sok]	‘a lot’
/z/	[zəjtu]	‘door’
/ʃ /	[ʃudal]	‘surprise’
/ ʒ /	[ʒam]	‘window’
/j/	[jar]	‘go’
/h/	[hɛd]	‘mountain’
/ts/	[tsibri]	‘soup’
/dz/	[hɛdz]	‘mountain’
/t /	[tʃukmoɲ]	‘egg’
/d /	[dʒɛrmɛk]	‘boy’
/l/	[liniʃtil]	‘calm’
/ʎ/	[ʎaɲə]	‘girl’
/r/	[rəɲil]	‘wound’
/m/	[mɔʃkɔ]	‘cat’
/n/	[nip]	‘woman’
/ ɲ /	[ɲer]	‘sheer’

Table 2 Examples for each phoneme

In NMH there are long consonants such as z:, t:, n:, s:,p: as illustrated below.

- (1) hoz: whose underlying form is hoz-j ‘bring’
- (2) lyt:em whose underlying form is mis lyt-t-em ‘shoot-PST-1S’
- (3) ʃoban:ək whose underlying form is ʃoban-nək ‘shepherd-DAT’
- (4) hɔsis:əd whose underlying form is hɔsis-j-əd ‘break-SUBJ-2S’

Long consonants are not always a result of an assimilation or gemination process, as exemplified below.

- (5) ʃɛp:ɛt ‘little’
- (6) ɔk:or ‘then’
- (7) kɛl:ɛt ‘AUX.need.PST’

Long and short consonants are not contrastive. The only minimal pairs that can be found are the following: *hoz* ‘brings’ vs. *hoz:* ‘bring.IMP’. Moreover, in many instances, long vs. short consonant usage depends on speakers’ variation as

in mɛɲ ‘go.IMP’ vs mɛɲ ‘go.IMP’. Hence, for these reasons, long consonants are not represented here in the phonemic inventory.

4.1.1 Assimilation process in NMH

When one sound is changed into another because of the influence of a neighboring sound, there is said to be a process of assimilation. As the purpose of this dissertation is not to offer a detailed analysis of the phonology and phonetics of NMH, I will only provide a short overview of the consonant assimilation in NMH.

Assimilation types in NMH are typically regressive. In other words, it is the last element of the cluster that determines the change. Thus, for example, in a cluster of consonants ending in an obstruent, some obstruents change their voicing according to the last one of the sequence, as illustrated below.

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (8) meleg ‘warm’ | melektyl ‘warm-ABL’ |
| (9) rig ‘a long time ago’ | riktyl ‘a long time ago – ABL’ |
| (10) hidɛg ‘cold’ | hidɛktyl ‘cold-ABL’ |

(11) viz ‘water’

vistyl ‘water-ABL’

Although assimilation processes from voicing to devoicing of obstruents can be found in NMH, this is not a very strict rule and it really depends on the speaker’s choice. Both variants, *vistyl* and *viztyl*, were found in my data.

In most cases, the assimilation process in NMH works across word boundaries if the sequences of words form an ‘accentual unity’, that is, if there is no phonetic break between them (and they bear a common phase stress). For example, attributes and qualified nouns, e.g. *hideg tél* [hidek_tɛ:l] ‘cold winter’.

4.1.2 Palatal assimilation

Combination of a ‘palatalizable’ consonant and a following palatal consonant, results in a palatal geminate. Consonants that don’t palatalize easily will also undergo some assimilation process becoming geminates, as illustrated below.

Full palatal assimilation occurs when the ending palatal consonant is [n], [l], and [d]. When these consonants encounter the consonant [j], they palatalize into [ɲ], [ʎ] and [dʒ] respectively.

(12) ʃan-j-om ‘do-SUBJ-1S whose overt form is **ʃaɲom** or [l]

(13) tərəl-j-əd ‘wipe-SUBJ-2S.PRES.DEF whose overt form is **tərəlʎəd**

(14) mosud-j-al ‘wash-SUBJ-2S whose overt form is **mosudʒal**

The following two phenomena are also examples of assimilation:

1. In verb stems ending in a vowel+t, both the stem final t and the subjunctive -j- become s.

(15) fut + -j- → fus:- ‘run’

2. in verbs ending in st consonant clusters, the stem final t is lost and the subjunctive -j- assimilates to the sibilant.

(16) ɛrest + -j- → ɛres:- ‘put down, release’

4.1.3 Sibilants assimilation

-j- assimilates to the sibilant ending (s,z,dʒ,/ʃ)

(17) hoz + *-j-* → hoz:- ‘bring’

(18) sɛgis + *-j-* → sɛgis:- ‘help’

(19) ɔʃ + *-j-* → ɔʃ:- ‘give’

4.1.4 Nasal place assimilation

Nasal place assimilation, one of the more common phonological processes found in natural languages, occurs when a nasal phoneme assimilates the place features of another consonant in its environment. One such example is [m] before velar consonants /k g/, which becomes a lot of times /n/ as illustrated by *senki* ‘anyone’, whose underlying form is *sem-ki* ‘not-who’.

In vowel ending verb stems there is no assimilation of the palatal approximant *-j-*. However, another variant that was found is geminate *-j-*, as illustrated in the following examples.

(20) jø + j → jøj-/jøj:- ‘come’

(21) riu + j → riu j-/riu j:- ‘cry’

4.1.5 Gemination

When a consonant ending word encounters a suffix or another word beginning with the same consonant, germination occurs, as illustrated below.

(22) lyt:ɛm whose underlying form is lyt-t- ɛm ‘shoot-PST-1S’

(23) ʃoban:rək whose underlying form is ʃoban-nək ‘shepherd-DAT’

The vowels of NMH

In NMH there are only short vowels. NMH has no diphthongs, i.e., each vowel is pronounced separately. The following is the vowel inventory. The primary division of the vowels is between front, back and central vowels.

The inventory of the Front vowels in NMH: i,e, ε,y, ø

Front Vowel types	Vowel	Example	Translation
high	i	idəs	‘sweet’
mid-high	e	edʒ	‘one’
mid-low	ε	εlporol	‘destroy’
close	y	y	‘he/she/it’
close-mid (rounded)	ø	ørøk:i	‘always’

Table 3 The inventory of the Front vowels in NMH

The inventory of the Front vowels in NMH

The inventory of the Back vowels: u, o, ɔ

Back Vowel types	Vowel	Example	Translation
high	u	ugor	‘field’
mid-high	o	opərɪlul	‘get scalded’
mid-low	ɔ	ɔdudik	‘get married’(used for a female)

Table 4 The inventory of the Back vowels in NMH

The inventory of the Central vowels: ə, a, i

Central types	Vowel	Vowel	Example	Translation
mid vowel	ə	ə	əglud	‘mud’
low vowel	a	a	adikə	‘that is to say’, ‘namely’
close vowel	i	i	ingetsata	‘ice cream’

Table 5 The inventory of the Central vowels in NMH

Vowel harmony

The phenomenon of vowel harmony in NMH does not seem to be as strict as in other languages. Usually vowel assonance is maintained throughout the whole word: for the most part, words contain only vowels of one of the types (back, front, central etc.). For example, Hungarian words have either only back vowels or only front vowels. In NMH, however, one can find many words that have back and front vowels such as in *mikor* (combination of back vowel and front vowel), *ingetsata* (combination of central vowel, back vowel) and many others.

However, in most cases in which stems and affixation is involved the vowel harmony rule is kept in NMH. Most of NMH's many suffixes have multiple

forms for use depending on the vowel class predominating in the stem. One such example is verb conjugation. The following examples show that if a verb contains back, central or front vowels, it affixes back, central or front vowel suffixes respectively.

(24) *fyz* ‘cook’ *fyz-ɛm* – ‘cook-1S.PRES.DEF’

(25) *ʃan* ‘do’ *ʃan-əm* ‘do-1S.PRES.DEF’

(26) *dolgoz* ‘work’ *dolgoz-om* ‘work-1S.PRES.DEF’

Another such example is the usage of the suffix *-etlən/-otlon/-ətlən/-ɔtlən/-øtlən* (and other variations due to vowel harmony) which can be added to verbs, nouns and adjectives, resulting in a negative meaning ‘without’ or qualified as not having’.

(27) *vetkɛz-etlən* – undressed

(28) *ragət-lən* – unchewed

All this said, some counterexamples can be found in the present data, as

illustrated below. The first example is the 1st person singular subjunctive/imperative definite conjugation form of the verb *ʃan* –‘do’ --- *ʃan-j-om* whose overt form is *ʃapom*. Another such example is the formation of the 2nd personal singular present conditional definite form of the verb *fut* ‘run’ - *futnal*. In 4.3 more examples of affixation in NMH are going to be provided.

Until now suffixation in words of one syllable or words with more than one syllable but which have maintained vowel assonance throughout the whole word were under discussion. The following are some examples of words that have different types of vowels in each syllable. Usually in these cases, what determines what suffix will be used is the vowel class of the last syllable, as illustrated below.

In the word, *ʌlma-m-ət* ‘my apple-ACC’, the first vowel of the first syllable is a front vowel, the second syllable has a central vowel, and the suffix chosen is the one which has the vowel class of the last syllable namely, central. The following are two more such examples: *ʃiprɔ-k-ət* ‘mug-PL-ACC’, *borotval-ətɫən*

‘unshaved’.

Here again counterexamples based on speakers choices can be found as in the word, *dulab:ɔ/dulap-bɔ* ‘cupboard.ILLIN’, in which the suffix added to the word is not the one with a central vowel but with a front vowel like in the first syllable of the word. Two more such examples are *haməl-t-om* ‘harness 1S.PST’ and *bujil-ɔtlɔnd* ‘unpainted’.

4.2 Morphology

NMH is basically an agglutinative language, i.e., grammatical relations are expressed by means of affixes. In order to understand the function of different affixes and how they interact, the following section will give an overview of the different parts of speech.

4.2.1 Articles

The definite and indefinite articles are invariable for number, person, gender and case. The indefinite article is *i*, and the definite article is *ɛ*. The indefinite article can be homonymous to the numeral ‘one’. The definite article *ɛ* precedes

nouns that start with a consonant. When the noun starts with a vowel, a consonant is added to the *zøfem* and *øfem*, *zember* and *ember*. The most logical explanation would be that there are two variants of the definite article: *εz*, which precedes nouns with an initial vowel, and *ε*, preceding head nouns with an initial consonant. Nevertheless, the previously mentioned noun variants occur in free distribution even when they are not preceded by a definite article, as illustrated below.

(29)

zøf-em *mogos*

brother-1S.POSS tall

‘My brother is tall.’

(30)

menen i zember, menen i λaη uta

go.3S a man, go.3S a girl after

‘A man is walking. He is walking after a girl.’

The noun *zember* appears in my database 88 times out of which 34 times not preceded by the determiner *ε*; whereas, the noun *ember* only appears 65 times.

(31)

zember borotval-kəz-ik

man shave-MID-3S

‘The man is shaving (himself).’

4.2.2 Nouns

Every Hungarian noun may be analyzed as a stem followed by three positions in which inflectional suffixes can occur. Thus, nouns are inflected for number, person (possessor) and case, with the relevant suffixes attached in that order.

(32)

zember-ek

man-PL

‘men’

(33)

tɛ ɛs-ɛd ɛ zen ɔlma-m-ət

you eat-2S the I apple-1S.POSS-ACC

‘You eat my apple’

(34)

zen ɔlma-i-m-ət

I apple-PL.POSS-1S.POSS-ACC

‘My apples’

4.2.3 Number

The category number is realized as singular and plural. There are two plural suffixes. The suffix *-k* is preceded by an epenthetic vowel after a consonant final stem. Compare the examples (35) below, illustrating a noun with vowel final stem, and (36), illustrating a noun with a consonant final stem.

(35) mɛsɛna-k – ‘car-PL’

(36) pislɛn-ɛk – ‘chick-PL’

The second plural suffix is *-i*, which is used only when person suffixes. In possession, for example, the plural *-k* cannot be used with possessive endings; instead, there is a separate plural possessive paradigm which uses the plural marker *-i* as in *džermek-εi-m* ‘child-PL-1S.POSS.’

4.2.4 Person/Possession

Possession is usually indicated with a personal suffix on the possessed noun.

The forms vary for number and person as illustrated in Tables 6 and 7 below.

Person	Singular	Plural
1 st	-(V)m	-(V)nk
2 nd	-(V)d	-(V)tək
3 rd	-(V) (j)ə, -i	-(V)ik,jik

Table 6 Singular Possessive endings

(37)

tata-m-vəl

father-1S.POSS-INSTR

‘With my father’

Person	Singular	Plural
1 st	-i-m	-i-nk
2 nd	-i-d	-i-tək
3 rd	-i	-i-k

Table 7 Plural Possessive endings

(38)

tata-i-k-vəl

father-PL-3PL.POSS-INSTR

‘With their fathers’

Nominal possession

When there is only a possessor and a possessee, the possessor is marked with the dative case and the possessee is marked with the possessive suffix. The possessee in most cases is preceded by a determiner as illustrated below.

(39)

kərutsa-nək ə kerek-je

cart-DAT the wheel-3S.POSS

‘The cart's wheel’

(40)

zembere-m-nək ə kalap-ə

man-1S.POSS-DAT the spoon-3S.POSS

‘My husband's spoon’

The examples provided until now show that the possessor always precedes the possessed but this is not always the case in NMH. The possessed can occur before the possessor, as illustrated below.

(41)

menekəzy-i-nək miaɬ-nək

wedding-3S.POSS-DAT Mihai-DAT

‘Mihai’s wedding’

(42)

nəp-jə bətəg-ək-nək

day-3S.POSS sick-PL-DAT

‘The ill people's day’

If there is a chain of possessors, all the possessors, not only the one closest to the head, take a dative case marker. The suffix *-i* marks possession by *tata* ‘father’ and *-nek* signals the pending possessive ending *-ɔ*.

The variation I have found among my consultants is the following: some consultants mark only the possessor closest to the head in addition to the dative case marker also with the possessive suffix; others, however, mark both possessors with the possessive suffix in addition to the dative case marker.

(43)

tata-nək ə zətʃ-i-nək ə λaŋ-ɔ

father-DAT the brother-3S.POSS-DAT the girl-3S.POSS

‘The father’s brother’s daughter’

vs.

(44)

tata-nək-əjə zətʃ-i-nək ɔ λaŋ-ɔ

father-DAT-3POSS brother-3S.POSS-DAT the girl-3S.POSS

‘The father’s brother’s daughter’

As can be seen, the possessor farther away from the possessee in this case ‘father’ takes the possessive suffix as well as the dative case marker, the possessive suffix always follows the case marker and does not precede it, as it would do in normal circumstances.

4.2.5 Case

NMH has a complex case system involving 14 distinct forms to mark that an NP bears some identifiable grammatical or semantic relation to the rest of the sentence. The case suffixes may be classified into two groups. The first group cases express primary syntactic or adverbial functions, such as subject, direct and indirect object, possessor or instrument. The local cases show concrete spatial and kinetic conditions such as interior vs. exterior, stationary vs. moving. An exhaustive list of all the case endings and their meanings is provided in Appendix C.

Case suffixes are the same both in singular and in plural. The plural suffix always precedes the case suffix, as the examples below show:

(45)

ə λaŋ-ək-ət

the girl-PL-ACC

‘ the girl’

(46)

λaŋ-ɔi-t

girl-PL.POSS-ACC

‘his daughters’

4.2.6 Pronouns

Personal pronouns in NMH occur in a variety of cases such as Nominative, Accusative, Dative, Sublative etc. For an exhaustive list of all the pronouns in NMH, refer to Appendix D.

The use of personal pronouns is not frequent in NMH because it is a pro-drop language. This is the case especially for nominative pronouns. The following two Tables show the Nominative and the Accusative pronouns in NMH.

Nominative personal pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
1	en	nyk
2	tɛ	tyk
3	y kɛmɛd (polite form)	yk kɛmɛdik (polite form)

Table 8 Nominative Personal pronouns

Accusative personal pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
1	ingɛmɛt/ ɛngɛmɛt	nykynkɛt
2	tigɛdɛt	tyktɛkɛt
3	yt	ykɛt

Table 9 Accusative personal pronouns

The other personal pronouns in different case markings are formed by adding the enclitic (personal) markers to the case endings of nouns. In this way, oblique forms are made.

Enclitic personal markers

Person	Singular	Plural
1	-em	-ynk
2	-ed	-tek
3	-i/-je	-ik/uk/ek

Table 10 Enclitic personal markers

The following Table exemplifies the formation of the dative pronoun. Examples of the formation of all the other personal pronouns in different case markings are provided in Appendix D.

Dative personal pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
1	nekem	nekynk
2	neked	nektek
3	neki /nekije	nekik

Table 11 Dative personal pronouns

Reflexive pronouns are formed by using the anaphoric operator *maga/mɔga/mɔgɔ* which means ‘own/alone/by oneself’. The anaphoric operator

declines for person and for number. It can take different case markers. More about their formation and usage is provided in chapters 6 and 8.

Possessive pronouns have the following forms. In NMH, forms exist for singular and for plural possession. Based on my database I could not fill the paradigm. The following are the found forms.

Person	Singular Possession	Plural Possession
1 Singular	zɛnim/zɛnim	zɛnimɛk
2 Singular	tiid/tied	tiidɛk
3 Singular	zyve/zyvi	zyvei
1 Plural	mink	minɛk
2 Plural	tiitɛk	
3 Plural	zyvik/zyvek	

Table 12 Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns cannot stand together with the noun head (the possessed entity). When the noun head is present, a personal pronoun is used.

(47)

ɛz ə haz ɛ zyvik

this the house the 3.PL.POSS

‘This house is theirs.’

(48)

en ɛs-ɛm ɛ tɛ ɔlma-**d**-ət

I eat-1S the you apple-2S.POSS-ACC

‘I eat your apple.’

Demonstratives in NMH are of two types, proximal and distal. The proximal *ɛz/this* begins with a front vowel; in contrast, the distal *ɔz/that* begins with a back vowel. Demonstratives can take the full range of case markings. In the singular declension of the cases except nominate and accusative, the final consonant –z of the demonstrative pronouns assimilates to the initial consonant of most suffixed cases. Nevertheless, there are cases which do not follow this rule. One such example is the allative forms of *ɛz* and *ɔz* which are not the expected *ɛh:ɛz* and *ɔh:ɔz* but *ɛzhɛz* and *ɔzhɔz*, respectively.

Singular demonstratives

Case	Proximal/this	Distal (that)
Nominative	ɛz	ɔz
Accusative	ɛzt	ɔzt
Dative	ɛn:ɛk	ɔn:ɔk
Illative (in)	ɛb:ɛ	ɔb:ɔ
Elativ (out of)	ɛb:yl	ɔb:ul
Allative (to)	ɛzhɛz	ɔzhɔz
Instrumental (with)	ɛv:ɛl	ɔv:ɔl
Terminative (until)	ɛdʒig	ɔd:ig
Sublative (onto)	ɛr:ɛ	ɔr:ɔ
Addessive (at)	ɛn:ɛl	ɔn:al

Table 13 Singular Demonstratives

Plural demonstratives:

Case	Proximal Plural these	Distal Plural those
Nominative	εzek	ɔzɔk
Accusative	εzeket	ɔzkɔt
Dative	εzeknek	ɔzɔknɔk
Illative (in)	εzekbe	ɔzɔkbɔ
Elative (out of)	εzekbyl	
Allative (to)	εzekhez	ɔzɔkhɔz
Instrumental (with)	εzekvel	ɔzɔkvɔl
Sublative (onto)	εzekre	ɔzɔkrɔ
Addessive (at)		
Terminative (until)		

Table 14 Plural Demonstratives

Finally, the demonstratives cannot take enclitic markers or possessive suffixes and take the same position as the head nominal.

(49)

εz yl hat-ənd

this sit back-SUP

‘It is sitting on its back.’

It is very common for demonstratives in NMH to precede the definite determiner as illustrated below.

(50)

εz ε kɪpɐ nɪʃɛn mɛg kɪlvɛ

this the bread be.NEG.3S PREV leavend

‘This bread is not leavened.’

There are four *interrogative pronouns* in NMH: *ki* ‘who’, *mi* ‘what’, *hul/hol* ‘where’, and *mikor* ‘when’. The first two interrogatives also have plural forms such as *mik* and *kik* respectively and can occur in different cases; not so *hul/hol* and *mikor*.

(51)

mi vɔʝɔ ɔ kɛz-ɛd-bɛ

what.S.NOM be.3S.PRES the hand-2S.POSS-ILLIN

‘What is in your hand?’

(52)

mi-k ɔzɔk ə kɛz-ɛd-bɛ

what-PL.NOM those the hand-2S.POSS-ILLIN

‘What are those in your hand?’

(53)

ki bɛlyl-ɛtək jart ɛ tɔn:ɔp ɛ mɛzy-rɛ

who.S.NOM inside-2P go.2S.PST the yesterday the field-SUB

‘Which one of you went yesterday to the field?’

(54)

rik-tyl nɛm tom **ki-k** ʃan-t-ak

old-DEL not know.1S.PRES who-PL do-PST-3PL

‘This is old; I don't know who took it.’

(55)

hul ɛ zivɛg ə bor-vəl

where the bottle the wine-INST

‘Where is the bottle with the wine?’

(56)

mikor ult ɔ bɔpiko nɛm ult rubipɛt

when be.3S.PST the grandmother no be.3S.PST faucet

‘At the time of grandmother there was no faucet.’

I have attested examples of the interrogative pronoun *mi* ‘what’ and *ki* ‘who’ in different cases such as elative, illative, delative, and others, as illustrated below.

(57)

mibyl (what.elative)

ɛl	nɛ	ronʃd,	ɛl	ront-ot:-od,	niʃ	tal,	niʃ
away	not	destroy.2S.IMP,	away	destroy-PST-2S	be.NEG.3S	bowl,	be.NEG.3S
mi-byɪ	ɛj-el						
what-ELA	eat-2S.SUBJ						

‘Don’t destroy it! You destroyed it? There’s no bowl, there’s nothing to eat from.’

(58)

mibe (what.Illative)

niʃɛn	sem:i	mi-be	tɛdʒ-ɛm	be	ə	puj	sɛmɛt
be.NEG.3S	nothing	what-ILLIN	put.SUBJ-1S	in/into	the	corn	

‘I don’t have anything to put the corn into.’

(59)

ki-t	lat:al/lat-t-al	ə	kəpu-nal
who-ACC	See.PST.2S	the	gate-ADE

‘Whom did you see yesterday at the gate?’

The interrogative pronoun can also get a possessive suffix attached to it, as illustrated below. The interrogative pronoun *mi/what* gets the 2nd person singular possessive suffix attached to it and the *ki* ‘who’ occurs with 3rd person singular possessive suffix.

(60)

mi-d vɔɣɔ kez-ɛd-bɛ
 what.S-2S.POSS be.3S.PRES hand-2S.POSS-ILLIN
 what is in your hand?

(61)

ki-i ɛz ɛ dʒermɛk ?
 who-3S.POSS this the boy
 ‘Whose is this boy?’

Relative pronouns

As has been shown, NMH makes a difference between human and non-human interrogative pronouns. Nevertheless, in the case of relative clauses, this is not the case. They have singular and plural forms as well as full declension.

They follow the pattern of NMH nouns in case and number. *mɛlik* is the relative pronoun meaning which/who/that and *mɛlikɛk* is its plural form.

(62)

y i dʒɛrmɛk mɛlik jar ə skola-bə [animate]

he a boy who.3S go the school-ILLIN

‘He is a boy who goes to school.’

(63)

zautobuz mɛlik uta fut:ɔm ment ə sutʃavə fele [inanimate]

bus which.3S after run.1S.PST go.3S.PST the Suceava towards

‘The bus after which I was running went towards Suceava.’

(64)

tɛt:ɛ/tɛt-t-ɛ pədurar-t hoʃ vagjə ɛl ə kopaʃ-ək-ət mɛlik-ɛk

put-PST-3S forester-ACC that cut.3S.SUBJ away the tree-PL-ACC which-PL

sɛb:-ɛk [inanimate]

prettier-PL

‘He put the forester to fell the trees that are prettier.’

(65)

fəsit:ɛ mətʃɛlar-t hoʃ vagjə ɛl [animate]

force.3S.PST butcher-ACC that cut.3S.SUBJ away

ɛ zɛgis mɔlɔts-k-at mɛʃik-ɛk sopnɔk

the all pig-PL-ACC which-PL suck.3S

‘He forced the butcher to butcher all the suckling piglets.’

The relative pronouns as well can occur with a variety of case markers as exemplified below.

Case	Singular	Plural
Nominative	μελίκ	μελίκεκ
Accusative	μελίκετ	μελίκεκετ
Dative	μελίκνεκ	μελίκεκνεκ
Illative (in)	μελίκβε	μελίκεκβε
Elative (out of)	μελίκβυλ	
Allative (to)	μελίκhez	
Ablative (from, away from)	μελίκτυλ	
Delative (about, of)	μελίκρυλ	
Instrumental (vél)	μελίκνέλ	μελίκεκνέλ
Superessive (on)	μελέν	μελίκεκένδ
Sublative (onto)	μελίκρε	

Table 15 Relative Pronouns

The role of the head within the relative clause is indicated by case marking on the relative pronoun. In all examples mentioned until now, the head is the subject within the relative; hence the relative pronoun takes the nominative.

In (66), where the head is the object within the relative clause, the pronoun takes the accusative form.

(66)

ɔzək ə buba-k [μελίκ-ετ lat:əd] nɛm ɛ zɛnim-ɛk

these the child-PL [who-ACC see.2S.PST] not the mine-PL

‘The children that you saw are not mine.’

As can be seen for example (66), the head noun is plural ‘children’ but the relative pronoun is singular not the plural *μελίκεκ*. Hence, although the distinction between singular and plural relative pronouns exists in NMH, using singular relative pronouns even when the head noun is plural is very common. In most cases, the relative pronoun and the noun it refers to do not agree in number. The following is another such example with no agreement in number between the head noun and the relativizer. The subject does agree with the adjective in number; the adjective and the subject are plural.

(67)

zadʒ-ək [mɛlik-bɛ ɔɫɔs-unk] kitʃik-ek

bed-PL [which-ILLIN sleep-1PL.PRES] small-PL

‘The beds in which we sleep are small.’

Another interesting phenomenon in NMH is that some speakers mark the head noun of a relative clause with the same case marking as the relative pronoun itself, even when it does not agree with the function the head noun has in the main clause, as illustrated below. *Nipnek* is the subject of the sentence,

hence it should be marked Nominative and not dative. This type of phenomenon occurred over and over again.

(68)

ε nip-**nek** [mɛʎik-**nek** ɛl arul-t-əm ε zyny-t] vɔjɔ ət buba-jə
the woman-DAT [who-DAT away sell-PST-1S the cow-ACC] be.3S five child-3POSS

‘The woman to whom I sold the cow has five children.’

vs.

(69)

ε nip [mɛʎik-**nek** ɛl arul-t-ɔd ə zyny-t] nehezɛs ɛsmit
the woman [who-DAT away sell-PST-2S the cow-ACC] pregnant again

‘The woman to whom you sold the cow is pregnant again.’

There are several parameters by which relative clauses can be grouped. The parameters to be discussed in this section are 1) the position of the clause in respect to the head noun, and 2) which grammatical relations can be relativized. Furthermore, the word order inside the relative clause will also be discussed.

1) The position of the clause in respect to the head noun

According to all the above given examples, one can see that in NMH the most common order in subject-modifying relatives is **S-RelClause-V-O**. Object-modifying relatives occur in **S-V-O-RelClause** order. Hence, the relative clause is postnominal; it occurs after the head. Headless relative clauses are also common in NMH. These are relative clauses which themselves refer to the noun they modify, as illustrated below.

(70)

[mɛɬik tənɪtot ɪŋɡɛmɛt]

who teach.3S.PST me

‘The one that taught me...’

(71)

rezul mɪʃɔk tɛtɛ [mɛɬik yrzi ə grədɪnat]

king again put.3S.PST [who guard.3S the garden-ACC]

‘The king again made the one who guards the garden (cut all the roses that are red).’

2) Which grammatical relations can be relativized?

In NMH, subjects, direct objects, indirect objects, and obliques can be relativized as illustrated in the following examples (72), (73), (74) and (75) respectively. No examples of possessor relativization could be found in my database.

Subject

(72)

dʒermək [mɛʎik ɛl kyltɛ zirast] sɛrɛt ingɛmɛt

boy [who away send.3S.PST letter-ACC] love.3S me

‘The boy who sent the letter loves me.’

Direct Object

(73)

ε tsoal ε lis-vəl [mɛlik-et ɛl vɛt:ɛm ε midʒɛs-tyl]

the sack the flour-INST [which-ACC away get.3S.PST the neighbor-ABL]

ultøk beli ny-ɛk

be.3PL.PST inside maggot-PL

‘The sack with flour which I got from the neighbour had maggots in it.’

Indirect object

(74)

ə kuʃ-ak [mɛlik-nɛk ɔt:ɔm piʃɪn:-et]

the dog-PL [who-DAT give.1S.PST meat-ACC]

ɔkɔrtøk mɔrjɔnøk mɛg

want.3PL.PST bite.SUBJ.3PL PREV

‘The dogs I gave meat to tried to bite me.’

Oblique

(75)

ə korʃimɔ[mɛλikbyl ki jɔt ɛ risɛg]

the pub [which-ELA out come.3S.PST the drunk]

ʃan-ud-ik be tizenketynel ɛ zire, ijend

do-MID-3S PREV twelve the hour, night

‘The pub out of which the drunkard came closes at 12 at night.’

Word order inside the relative clause

Within the relative clause, both NV and VN orders are grammatical for both subject and object relatives. Which of these two orders is used depends on whether the noun in the relative clause is focused or not. The following sentences exemplify the possible word ordering in a relative clause: a) **RelPronoun - Prefix - Verb - NP** and the prefix is in focus position; b) In **RelPronoun - NP - Verb - Prefix** the NP becomes contrastively focused in the relative clause and the separable prefix follows the verb.

a) RelPronoun - Prefix - Verb – NP

Object-modifying relative clause

(76)

tɔn:ɔp ɛl tɛmɛtɪk ə zen nipot-om-ɔt

yesterday away bury.3PL.PST the my grandson-1POSS-ACC

[mɛɬik-ɛt ɛl ytɛ mɛsɪnɔ]

[who-ACC away hit.3S.PST car]

‘Yesterday they buried my grandson whom the car hit.’

Subject – modifying relative clause

(77)

zɔstɔl [mɛɬik-ən jatsəznək ə buba-k] maro, kafɪnɛ

table [which-SUP play.3PL the child-PL] brown, coffee.brown

‘The table on which the kids are playing is brown.’

b) NP - Verb – Prefix

(78)

batozo [mɛɫik veri ki]...

thresher [which hit.3S out]

‘The thresher which flails it out...’

(79)

da, vɔjɔ ot vɔɫɔki [mɛɫik kuʃoɫɔ ki]?

yes, be.3S there someone [who lock.3S out]

‘Really, is there someone to unlock it?’

(80)

ə haz [mɛɫik zɛɭɛjibɛ tanaʃɔɫs mɛg]

the house [which in.front-3POSS-ILL chat.3S PREV]

vɔjɔ vɔril-vɔ verɛs-vɛɭ

be.3S paint-ADVP red-INST

‘The house in front of which you are chatting is painted red.’

Finally, in my entire database there was only one example of a relative pronoun which is derived from interrogative pronouns: adding the prefix *ɔ* to the interrogative pronoun *ki*.

(81)

ziste-n:ek fiɔ [ɔki syletet: λasoλ-bɔ]...

God-DAT son [who born.3S.PST manger-ILLIN]...

‘God's son who was born in a manger....’

4.2.7 Adjectives

In NMH, adjectives can be used as nouns and are then declined fully, i.e. plural and case endings can be added to adjectives, as in (82) and (84). In NMH, adjectives in attributive position precede their head nouns and do not agree with them. On the other hand, adjectives in predicative position agree in number with the subject.

(82)

y ʃantə dzaketa-t sip-ɛt

he make.3S.PST jacket-ACC beautiful-ACC

‘He made a jacket a beautiful one.’

(83)

*y ʃantə sip-ɛt dzaketa-t

he make.3S.PST beautiful-ACC jacket beautiful-ACC

* ‘He made a jacket a beautiful one.’

(84)

ʃant ɛ gergɛʎ sip-ɛk-ɛt dɛ

make.3S.PST the Gergely beautiful-PL-ACC but...

‘Gergely made pretty ones but...’

Adjectives in attributive position

(85)

sip virag-ək

beautiful flower-PL

‘Beautiful flowers’

The adjective *sip* does not agree in number with the plural form of the noun ‘flowers’.

Adjectives in predicative position

(86)

sik-ek meʎikend ylynk sip-ek

chair-PL which-SUP sit.1PL beautiful-PL

‘The chairs we are sitting on are nice.’

The adjective *sipek* ‘beautiful.PL’ agrees in number with the subject *sikek* ‘the chairs’.

Comparative is formed by adding a (harmonic vowel) + *-b* to the stem, eg. *mogos* ‘tall’ and *mogos-ob* ‘taller’. Superlatives are formed by adding the prefix *leg-* to the comparative form, e.g. *mogos* ‘tall’, *mogos-ob* ‘taller’, *leg-mogos-ob* ‘tallest’.

4.2.8 Postpositions

In NMH, postpositions follow the head they refer to and express principally local relations such as *uto/uta/utan* ‘after’, *mele* ‘beside’, *rea* ‘onto’, *ɔlo* ‘under’, etc. Postpositions usually follow a noun phrase. The NP is usually in nominative case although non-nominative examples can also be detected.

(87)

bujik ə zəjtu **uta**

hide.3S the door after

‘He hides behind the door.’

(88)

ɛl pliktisyl-ød-ət sɛ jø ki ɛ zəitu-t **uto**

away bore-MID-3S.PST and come.3S out the door-ACC after

‘He got bored and came out from behind the door.’

They are reduplicated with demonstratives as shown in the example below.

(89)

εzεk uta domb-ok uta vɔjon sik hελ

these after hill-PL after be.3S flat land

‘Behind these hills there is a flat land.’

The postpositions, like case markers, may occur as stems and take possessive endings.

(90)

neznek utan-əd ε zember-ek

look.3PL after-2S.POSS the man-PL

‘And men look after you.’

(91)

i zyny fut utan-ətək serin:ek, dε tyk fut:ok dorji

a cow run.3S after-3PL.POSS fast, but you.PL run.2PL fast

‘A cow runs after you fast but you run fast too.’

4.2.9 Adverbs

Adverbs semantically cover an extremely wide range of concepts such as manner, time, and place of an action. Adverbs in NMH are typically unrestricted in terms of their position in the clause. Some adverbs of manner are formed by adding the suffix *-en* to the corresponding adjective, *sip* ‘beautiful, nice’ – *sipen* ‘nicely’. Other adverbs are formed by adding the suffix *ul/yl* to the adjective, such as *be/ε* ‘deep’ – *belyl* ‘inside’. There are also adverbs which are derived from verbal particles expressing local relations, although without possessive endings, such as *be* ‘in’ vs. *ben/bent* ‘inside’.

4.3 Verbs – NMH Verb paradigm

The NMH conjugation includes the past and non-past indicative, subjunctive (which is also used for imperative), and the conditional moods. The personal endings exhibit agreement with the subject, and when there is an object also with the object. In the case of the subject, the personal endings agree in number and person with the subject. Agreement with the object is expressed by different

personal endings depending on the object's definiteness. Namely, definite objects trigger different personal endings than indefinite objects. This will be discussed in more detail in section 4.4.

This section first illustrates the verb stem types of NMH. Secondly, the tenses and moods of NMH are introduced. The different personal endings of the verbs depending on the mood, tense, verbal stems, and the notion of definiteness are discussed. Finally, the NMH copula verb, its form and usage will be presented.

The morpheme structure of the verb in NMH is as follows:

verb stem¹² + (middle/causative) + (suffix of time/suffix of mood) + personal endings/infinitive

Figure 1 The morpheme structure of the verb in NMH (finite form)

The following table summarizes all the possibilities of the different suffixes and their co-occurrence. As can be seen, suffix of time and suffix of mood can never co-occur.

¹² Instead of verb stem, one could also use the following terminology verb root + derivation.

Verb stem	middle suffix	Suffix of Time	Suffix of Mood	Personal Endings	INF	Resulting word	Meaning
fut				nək		futnək	they run
fut		t		ək		fut:ək	they ran
fut			na (conditional)	nək		futnanək	they would run
fysyl	yd			ik		fysylydik	s/he combs her/himself
fysyl	yd	t		ək		fysylyt:ək	they combed themselves
fysyl	yd		j (subjunctive/imperative)	əl		fysylyj:əl	you, comb yourself
kapal					ni	kapalni	to weed

Table 16 The morpheme structure of NMH - suffixes and their possible co-occurrences

4.3.1 Verb Stems

Verbs in NMH can be classified into roughly three groups depending on the way they form their stem. **Group 1:** consists of verbs whose verb stem is identical to the third person singular present tense indefinite form; in other words, in this group the third person singular present tense indefinite form

marking is null, as illustrated in table 17. **Group 2:** consists of verbs whose third person singular present tense indefinite form is overt, namely marked with the suffix *-ik*, table 18. **Group 3:** consists of verbs which are considered to have different stems when forming past tense, subjunctive, conditional, infinitive, table 19. As can be seen, most of these verbs end in the sound *s*.

Group 1:

3 rd S.PRES.IND.INDEF	Stem	formation of 1 st S.PRES.DEF	formation of 1 st S.PST	Meaning of the stem
fyz	fyz	fyz -εm	fyz -t-εm	cook, boil
ʃan	ʃan	ʃan -əɱ	ʃan -t-əɱ	do, make
haməl	haməl	haməl -əɱ	haməl -t-om	harness

Table 17 Group 1 verbs

Group 2: *-ik verbs*

3 rd S.PRES.IND.INDEF	Stem	formation of 1 st S.PRES.IND	formation of 1 st S.PST	Meaning of the stem
ɔdudik	ɔdud	ɔdud -om	ɔdud -ot	get married
dolgozik	dolgoz	dolgoz -om	dolgoz -ot	work
sopik	Sop	sop -om	sop -ot	suck

Table 18 Group 2 verbs (ik verbs)

Group 3:

What all group 3 verbs have in common is the fact that they have different stems for each formation. The following is a table with all the verbal stems of these verbs.¹³

Verb	Present stem	Past stem	Subjunctive stem	Conditional stem	Infinitive
ɛsik – eat	ɛs-	ɛt:-	ɛd-/ɛdʒ-/ɛt-	ɛd-	ɛn:i
isik – drink	is-	it:-	id-/idʒ-/it-	id-	in:i
vɛs – buy, take	vɛs-	vɛt:-	vɛd:-/ vɛdʒ-	vɛ-	vɛdn:i
tɛs – put	tɛs-	tɛt:-	tɛd:-/tɛdʒ-	tɛ-	tɛn:i
lɛs – become	lɛs-	lɛt:-	lɛdʒ-	lɛn-	lɛn:i
ɔlɔs – sleep	ɔlɔs-	ɔlɔt:-	ɔlɔdʒ-	ɔlɔt-	?

Table 19 Group 3 verbs

This grouping of verbs is important because it motivates different morphological behavior of verbs, such as the inflectional paradigms they take for person and the formation of the adverbial participle of verbs. For example, group 1 and 3 take the same personal endings, whereas group 2 has different verb conjugation. This will be discussed in 4.3.4 on personal endings. Moreover, the

¹³ An alternative analysis would say that the stem of these verbs always ends in –s and that they undergo stem consonant alternations. However, even when saying this one cannot say that they behave exactly like group 1 verbs because of their adverbial participle formation discussed in section 4.8.

formation of the adverbial participle of verbs in group 3 differs from the one in groups 1 and 2, a topic dealt with in section 4.8 on verbal derivational morphology.

4.3.2 Suffix of Mood

In NMH there are three moods: indicative, subjunctive/imperative, and conditional. Indicative mood is unmarked. Hence, the personal endings are directly affixed to the verbal stem.

Subjunctive/Imperative mood

The subjunctive serves also as the imperative. It is marked with the palatal approximant *-j-*. It is located between the verb stem and the personal ending. Depending on the verb stem the *-j-* can be assimilated.

The following are examples of the regular forms of subjunctive formation in which no assimilation of the palatal approximant *-j-* occurs.

(92) $\text{ker} + j \rightarrow \text{kerj}^{-14}$ ‘ask

¹⁴ The hyphen after the subjunctive verb forms illustrates the fact that personal endings can follow it.

(93) var +j → varj- ‘wait’

In vowel-ending verb stems there is no assimilation of the palatal approximant *-j-*. However, another variant that was found is geminate *-j-*, as illustrated in the following examples.

(94) jø +j → jøj-/jøj:- ‘come’

(95) riu +j → riuj-/riu:- ‘cry’

The following are some rules that could be observed from the NMH data.

1. *-j-* assimilates to the sibilant ending (s,z,dʒ,/ʃ)

(96) hoz + *-j-* → hoz:- ‘bring’

(97) segis + *-j-* → segis:- ‘help’

(98) ɔʃ + *-j-* → ɔʃ:- ‘give’

2. in verb stems ending in a vowel+t, both the stem final t and the subjunctive *-j-* become s.

(99) fut + *-j-* → fus:- ‘run’

3. in verbs ending in st consonant clusters, the stem final *t* is lost and the subjunctive *-j-* assimilates to the sibilant.

(100) $\epsilon\epsilon st + -j- \rightarrow \epsilon\epsilon s:-$ ‘put down, release’

Some of these examples were mentioned in the section on the phonological process of assimilation.

Conditional mood

The conditional marker is *-na/-ne/-no/-nu/-ni/-ne/-nə/-ny/-nø/-no* depending on vowel harmony, which was discussed in section 4.1. It immediately follows the verb stem. In a conditional clause, the main clause and the if-clause are conjugated in conditional mood. The conditional mood is also used to make a polite request, to express wishes, and desires.

4.3.3 Suffix of Time (Tense)

Present tense

NMH differentiates only between two tenses, non-past and past. The present tense does not have any marker on its own. Personal endings are added directly to the stem in this case.

Past tense

The past tense suffix is *-t*. The form of the verb stem determines in most cases whether the past tense suffix has a short *-t* or a geminate *-t*.

The following types of verbs take a geminate *t* in past tense:

1. verbs with verb stems ending in the consonant *t* (the verb *fut/run*, *lat/see*, *sylet/be born*)

Stem	1S.PST	resulting form	meaning of the stem
fut	fut-t-ɔm	futɔm	run
Lat	lat-t-əm	latɛm	see
sylet	sylet-t-ɛm	syletɛm	be born

Table 20 Past tense formation of verbs ending of verbs with verb stems ending in the consonant

2. Group 3 verb stems (ɛsik/eat, idzik/drink, vɛs/buy, take, tɛs/put) as illustrated in table 21 below and 19 above.

3 rd S.PRES.IND.INDEF	formation of 1 st S.PRES.IND	formation of 1 st S.PST	meaning of the stem
vɛs	vɛs-ɛm	vɛs-t-ɛm → vɛtɛm	buy, take
ɔlɔs	ɔlɔs-om	ɔlɔs-t-ɔm → ɔlotɔm	sleep

Table 21 Past tense formation of Group 3 verbs

3. verb ending in two vowels (riu/cry)

Stem	Past tense	resulting form	meaning of the stem
riu	riu-t-ɔm (1S.PST)	riutɔm	cry
siu	siu-t (3S.PST)	siutɛ	shriek

Table 22 Past tense formation of verbs ending in two vowels

Future tense

In NMH the future tense is in most cases expressed with the verb in present tense. If the consultant wants to make it clear that it is something that will happen in the future a time expression such as ‘tomorrow’, ‘next month’ etc., is added. However, another way to express the future tense is to use the quasi-auxiliary *fog* which can also function as a main verb meaning ‘start’, and which agrees in number and person with the subject followed by the main verb in infinitive form.

***fog* as a main verb:**

(101)

tud-om	kə	nəm	vigz-ed	ɛl	kapal-ni	dɛ	fog
know-1S.PRES	that	not	finish-2S.PRES	away	hoe-INF	but	start
neki	mutul						
3S.DAT	today						

‘I know you won't finish hoeing but start it today.’

fog as a quasi-auxiliary:

(102)

ha ɛsik tsibri-t fog hurut-ni

if eat.3S.PRES soup-ACC AUX cough-INF

‘If he eats soup, he will cough’

(103)

mikor hɔɣɔd ə zandri-t maga-rə fog riu-ni

when leave.2S.SUBJ the Andrei-ACC REFL-SUB AUX cry-INF

‘When you leave him alone, Andrew will cry.’

In a sentence such as (103) *fog* is the auxiliary and *cry* is the main verb in its infinitive form. In a sentence such as (104) the quasi- auxiliary *fog* is followed by the main verb *go* which then is followed by *hoe* in its infinitive form.

(104)

most vigez-t-em valəstəni bobo-t fog-ok mɛɲ:-ɛk¹⁵ ɛ mɛzy-rɛ
 kapal-ni

now finish-PST-1S separated bean-ACC AUX-1S.PRES go.SUBJ-1S.INDEF the field-SUB
 hoe-INF

‘Now that I finished separating beans, I will go to the field to hoe.’

4.3.4 Personal Endings – Conjugational Paradigms

The personal endings in NMH differ depending on a) the number and person of the subject, b) the verb stem of the verb (i.e depending on the three verb groups discussed above), and c) the notion of definiteness.

The difference between –ik verbs (group 2) and non-ik verbs (group 1 & 3) is in present indefinite conjugations in indicative and subjunctive mood. Tables and examples with all the relevant data are provided in the subsequent discussion.

¹⁵ The underlying form is men-j-ɛk.

NMH has two types of conjugations, definite and indefinite. As for now only a brief list of the cases which trigger definite or indefinite personal endings will be provided. In section 4.4 on definiteness in NMH, these instances and other cases dealing with constructions which trigger different conjugations will be discussed in greater detail.

Indefinite conjugation is triggered by: intransitive verbs, transitive verbs with an object preceded by an indefinite article, objects preceded by quantifiers such as *minden*- ‘every’ and *sok*- ‘a lot’.

Definite conjugation is triggered by: transitive verbs with an object preceded by a definite article, an object that is a possessive noun, objects preceded by quantifiers such as *zégis* -‘all’ and *mind* -‘all’, the object is a noun preceded by numerals.

4.3.4.1 Indicative mood conjugation paradigms

The following table 23 illustrates first a general form for each person when relevant. Furthermore, it illustrates all the forms that have been observed in the

data. So for example, the general form for first person singular indefinite form for non-ik verbs is **-Vk** and the specific forms that could be found in my data are **-ok, -ɔk, -øk, -ək, ɛk, -ek**. If all the vowels of the vowel inventory of NMH would occur in the -Vk form, then no specific forms would be mentioned in the Table.

PRESENT INDICATIVE:

SINGULAR

PLURAL

	INDEFINITE		DEFINITE	INDEFINITE	DEFINITE
	non-ik conjugation	-ik conjugation			
1	-Vk -ok/-ɔk/øk/ -ək/-ɛk/-ek	-Vm -ɔm/-om/- əm/-ɛm	-Vm -ɛm/-em/- ɔm/-om,/- øm/-əm	-Vnk -unk/-ynk	(j)Vk -(j)yk/-(j)uk
2	-(V)ts - ts/ -ɔts	-Vl -ol/-el/-il/ -el	-Vd -ɛd/-ɔd/-od/- ød/-əd/-ud	(V)tVk -(ɔ)tɔk/-tɔk/-(a)tək/ -(ɛ)tɛk/ -tək/-tok	ja/(i)tVk -jatək/-jatuk/- (i)tɛk
3	Ø	-ik	-jə/-jɛ/-jɔ/- jo/ -i/-ɛ/-ɛn/-in	-nVk -nak/-nɔk/-nøk/-nək/ -nyk/-nok/-nek/-nek	-jak /-ik

Table 23 Present indicative conjugation paradigm

At the beginning of the chapter the existence of three types of verb groups depending on the stem formation was mentioned. As can be seen from table 23, only group 2 (the –ik verbs) has different personal endings in singular indefinite conjugation. Group 1 and group 3 (the non-ik verbs) share the same personal endings. Compare tables 24, 25, and 26 below. Because the difference in conjugation is only in the singular and not in the plural, the Tables below illustrate only the singular present indicative indefinite forms.

Present indicative indefinite (non –ik verb groups) verbal conjugation

Group 1

hɔl - ‘die’

	SINGULAR
1 st	hɔl-ɔk
2 nd	hɔl-ts
3 rd	hɔl- ø

Table 24 Example of present indicative indefinite Group 1 verb conjugation

*Group 3**tɛs* – ‘add, put’

	SINGULAR
1 st	tɛs-ɛk
2 nd	tɛ-ts
3 rd	tɛs- ø

*Table 25 Example of present indicative indefinite Group 3 verb conjugation*Present indicative indefinite (ik-verb groups) verbal conjugation*Group 2**dolgozik* - ‘work’

	SINGULAR
1 st	dolgoz-om
2 nd	dolgoz-ol
3 rd	dolgoz-ik

Table 26 Example of present indicative indefinite Group 2 verb conjugation

Present indicative definite conjugation

In the case of definite conjugation there is no difference between the three verb groups; that is why just one example is provided, table 27.

esik - 'eat'

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1st	es-em	es-yk
2nd	es-ed	es-itek , es-tek
3rd	es-i	esik

Table 27 Example of present indicative definite verb conjugation

PAST INDICATIVE:

Here again as in table 23 when relevant a general form is given plus all the specific forms found in the present database.

PAST INDICATIVE:

SINGULAR

PLURAL

	INDEFINITE		DEFINITE	INDEFINITE	DEFINITE
	non-ik conjugation	-ik conjugation			
1	-Vm -əm/-em/- um/-øm/- om/-ɔm	-Vm -əm/-ɔm/- em/-om/- øm	-Vm -ɔm/-om/-əm/- em/-øm/-em	-Vnk -unk/-ynk	-Vk -uk/-yk
2	-Vl -al/-il/-ɛl/- el/-ol	-Vl -al/-il/-el	-Vd -od/-əd/-ɔd/- ød/-ɛd/	-(V)tVk -øtøk/-atuk/- ɔtøk/(ɛ)tøk, (a,ə)tøk/-itøk/- ɛtøk	-VtVK -ɔtøk/-otøk/- atok/-atuk/- itøk/-etøk/-atøk
3	Ø	ø	-ɛ/-ə/-ɔ/-ø/-o	-Vk -ɛk/-ok/-ɔk/- øk/-ək	-Vk -ak/-ik/-ek/-ɔk

Table 28 Past indicative conjugation paradigm

As already mentioned in section 4.3.3 discussing past tense formation, the suffix can be $-t$ or geminate t (transcribed by me as $t̃$). As one can see there is no difference in past tense between ik-verbs and non-ik verbs conjugation forms.

Past tense indefinite conjugation form

mɛn - ‘go’

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st	mɛn-t-ɛm	mɛn-t-ynk
2 nd	mɛn-t-el	mɛn-t-ɛtɛk
3 rd	mɛn-t	mɛn-t-ɛk

Table 29 Example of Past tense indicative conjugation

Past tense indefinite conjugation of a verb stem ending in two vowels

riu - ‘cry’

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	formation	overt form	formation	overt form
1 st	riu-t-ɔm	riu-t:-ɔm	riu-t-unk	riu-t:-unk
2 nd	riu-t-al	riu-t-al	riu-t-ɔtɔk	riu-t:-ɔtɔk
3 rd	riu-t- ø	riut:	riu-t-ɔk	riu-t:ɔk

Table 30 Past tense indefinite conjugation of a verb stem ending in two vowels

Past tense definite conjugation form for the verb

fys or fyz - ‘cook’

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st	fys-t-εm	fys-t-yk
2 nd	fys-t-εd	fys-t-itεk
3 rd	fys-εt:	fys-t-ik

Table 31 Example of Past tense indefinite conjugation

In conclusion, in indicative past tense, all three verb groups have the same personal endings, whereas in indicative present tense, group 2 (ik verbs) and group 1 & 3 (non-ik verbs) take different personal endings in the indefinite singular conjugation but are the same in the definite conjugation. All the personal endings are subject to changes depending on vowel harmony.

4.3.4.2 Subjunctive/Imperative mood conjugational paradigms

The following table represents the personal endings without the suffix of the mood, *-j-*. The exact formation was discussed above. Moreover, when relevant, it gives the general form and also all the possible specific forms.

SUBJUNCTIVE/IMPERATIVE:

SINGULAR

PLURAL

	INDEFINITE		DEFINITE	INDEFINITE	DEFINITE
	other conjugation	-ik conjugation			
1	-Vk -ɔk/-ok/- uk/-øk/- ɛk/-ek/-ək	-Vm -əm/-om/- ɔm	-Vm -əm/-ɛm/- om/-øm/- ɔm/-em	-Vnk -unk/-ynk	-Vk -uk/-yk
2	ø	-Vl -al/-il/-ɛl/- el	-(V)d -əd/-ɔd/-ɛd	-VtVk -øtøk/-atøk/- ətøk/-atuk/- ɛtøk/-atek/- itøk/-ɔtøk/- atok/-ɔtok/- otøk	-VtVk -ɔtøk/-otøk/- atok/-atøk
3	-on/-ɛn/-o/- ɛ/-ɔ/-ønd	-ik	-an/-ɛn/ -ɛ/-ə/-ɔ/-o	-(V)nVk -ønøk/-ɔnøk/- (ɛ)nøk/-onøk/- ənøk	-Vk -ak/-ik/-uk/-ek

Table 32 Subjunctive/Imperative mood conjugational paradigms

Subjunctive indefinite non –ik verb groups (group 1&3)

ker - ‘ask, ask for’

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st	ker-j-εk	ker-j-ynk
2 nd	ker-j- ø	ker-j-etek
3 rd	ker-j-εn	ker-j-εnek

Table 33 Example of Subjunctive indefinite non -ik verb groups (group 1&3) verb conjugation

fut - ‘run’

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	formation	overt form	formation	overt form
1st	fut-j-ok	fus:ok	fut-j-unk	fus:unk
2nd	fut-j- ø	fus:	fut-j-ɔtək	fus:ɔtək
3rd	fut-j-on	fus:on	fut-j-ɔnək	fus:ɔnək

Table 34 Example of Subjunctive indefinite non -ik verb groups (group 1&3) verb conjugation

The following are some sentences exemplifying these forms in context.

(105)

mamə əl kyld-ət: hoʃ ker-j i tal-ət fyl-byɫ

mother away send-3S.PST that ask-2S.SUBJ a bowl-ACC clay-ELA

‘Mother sent you to ask for a clay bowl.’

(106)

fus:¹⁶ ə dugjana-ig

run.2S.SUBJ the small_shop-TERM

‘Run to the stall.’

(107)

mama əl kyltə (hoʃ) ker-j-ən i tʃukmoŋ-t

mother PREV sent.3S.PST (that) ask-SUBJ-3S a egg-ACC

‘Mother sent him to ask for an egg.’

¹⁶ the underlying form is fut-j.

(108)

hoʃ fus:-on¹⁷ ə dugjana-ig

that run.SUBJ-3S a small_shop-TERM

‘(Mother asked him) to run to the stall.’

Subjunctive indefinite ik-verb group (group 2)

	SINGULAR		Meaning
	formation	overt form	
1st	søk-j-øm	søkjøm	søkik/jump
2nd	mosud-j-al	mosudʒal	mosudik/wash
	søk-j-el	søkjel	oneself søkik/jump
3rd	sop-j-ik	sop:ik	sopik/suck
	borotvalkoz-j-ik	borotvalkoz:ik	borotvalkozik/shave

Table 35 Example of Subjunctive indefinite ik-verb group (group 2)

¹⁷ The underlying form is fut-j-on.

The following sentences exemplify some of these forms in context.

(109)

de edʒ ɛl vɛt:ɛ spelka-t

and one away take.PST.3S pin-ACC

sɛ surt iʃ ɪŋɡɛmɛt hoʃ ɛn sɔk-j-ɔm

and prick.PST.3S one me that I jump-SUBJ-1S.INDEF

‘And one took a pin and pricked me like this so I would jump.’

(110)

nɛ hɔdʒ:ɔd¹⁸ ɛ zɛmbɛr-ɛd-ɛt bɔrba-ɔl,

not leave-SUBJ-2S.DEF the man-2S.POSS-ACC beard-INST

borotvalkoz:-ik¹⁹ mɛg

shave.SUBJ-3S.INDEF PREV

‘Don’t leave your husband with a beard. He should shave.’

¹⁸ The underlying form is hɔd-j-ɔd.

¹⁹ The underlying form is borotvalkoz-j-ik.

Hence, in subjunctive mood as well, there is a difference in the personal endings that -ik verbs (group 2) and non-ik verbs (group 1&3) in their singular indefinite conjugation.

Subjunctive/Imperative Definite conjugation

Here I do not provide separate examples for the -ik verbs (group 2) as I did in the case of the Indefinite conjugation, because, as shown in table 32 above, the subjunctive definite personal endings for the -ik verbs do not differ from the ones for group 1 and group 3 verbs.

ʃan/do, make

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	formation	overt form	formation	overt form
1 st	ʃan-j-om	ʃaɲom	ʃan-j-uk	ʃaɲuk
2 nd	ʃan-j-əd	ʃaɲəd	ʃan-j-ətək	ʃaɲətək
3 rd	ʃan-j-ən	ʃaɲən	ʃan-j-ak	ʃaɲak

Table 36 Example of Subjunctive/Imperative Definite conjugation

(111)

mamə muntə/mund-t-ə ʃan-əm²⁰ be zəjtu-t
 mother say-PST-3S.DEF do.SUBJ-1S.PRES PREV door-ACC

‘Mother told me to close the door.’

Sentences (111) and (112) illustrate the difference in form between the subjunctive form and the present indicative definite form respectively.

(112)

hulnəp en ʃan-om be zəjtu-t
 yesterday I do-1S.PRES PREV door-ACC

‘Tomorrow I will close the door.’

Finally, it has been noticed that some verbs have two ways to express the subjunctive mood, as illustrated below.

(113)

təd: fəl ε ʃiprə-k-ət ə dulab:ə/dulap-bə
 put.3S.SUBJ.DEF up the mug-PL-ACC the cupboard-ILLIN

‘Put the mugs into the cupboard.’

²⁰ The underlying form is ʃan-j-əm.

vs.

(114)

tɛʃɛd be pults-bə ʃiprɔ-k-ɔt

put.3S.SUBJ.DEF in shelf-ILLIN mug-PL-ACC

‘Put the mugs onto the shelf’

(115)

tørøʎ-ød²¹ bre tørøld seɓ:-ɛnd

wipe.SUBJ.2S.PRES.DEF hey wipe.SUBJ.2S.PRES.DEF beautiful.COMP-ADV

‘Wipe (them). Hey you wipe (them) better.’

(116)

ɔ fəl-ɔk-hɔz kɛl tørøld

the wall-PL-ALL need wipe.SUBJ.2S.PRES.DEF

‘Must you wipe them on the walls?’

This difference has only been noticed for 2nd person present subjunctive definite conjugation. Because of the few examples in my database, no real predictions can be made as to what type of groups can form the subjunctive form

²¹ The underlying form is tørøld-j-ød.

in these two ways. What can be said for sure is that it is not related to the verb groups, because (113) and (114) illustrate a group 3 verb, whereas (115) and (116) contain a group 1 verb. In the future, it is necessary to elicit more sentences from consultants in order to verify if there is a difference in meaning between these two subjunctive moods. One hypothesis is that one of them expresses a stronger command than the other. As for now, the existence of these two types of subjunctive mood is recorded here.

4.3.4.3 Conditional Mood conjugation paradigm

The conditional marker is *-na/-nε/-nə/-nɔ/-nu/-ni/-no/-nø/-ny/-ne* depending on vowel harmony. It immediately follows the verb stem. The following table 37 represents the personal endings first in their general form, such as for example NV-k²² for first person singular indefinite non-ik verbs. Secondly, the specific forms that occur in the NV form for first person singular indefinite non-ik verbs such as *-ni-, -ne, -no, and -nε* are illustrated.

²² NV stands for the conditional form *-na/-nε/-ne/-ni/-nɔ/-no/-nø/-nu/-ny/-nə*.

PRESENT CONDITIONAL:

SINGULAR			PLURAL		
	INDEFINITE		DEFINITE	INDEFINITE	DEFINITE
	other conjugation	-ik conjugation			
1	-NV-k -ni-k/-ne-k/ -no-k/-ne-k	-NV-m -ne-m/ -ne-m/-ni- m	-NV-m -no-m/-ne- m/-na-m/- ni-m	-NV-nk -nu-nk/ -ny-nk/-na-nk/- ni-nk	-NV-k -ny-k/-nə-k/-ne- k
2	-NV-l -ni-l/-ne-l/- na-l	ʔ ²³	-NV-d -ni-d/-na-d	-NV-tVk -ni-tək/-na-tək	-NV-tVk -ni-tək/-na-tək
3	NV- ø	?	?	-NV-nVk -na-nək/-ni-nək	-NV-k -nə-k/-na-k/-no- k/-(o)no-k/-ni- k/-nə-k/

Table 37 Present Conditional conjugation verb paradigm

Conditional usage: In a conditional construction, both the protasis and the apodosis are conjugated in conditional mood. These forms are used in the realis conditional construction. The conditional mood is also used to make a polite request, to express wishes, desires, and unreal comparatives.

²³ The question mark represents the fact that no forms could be found in the database.

Present Conditional Indefinite (non –ik verbs):

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	form	meaning of the stem	Form	meaning of the stem
1 st	ɔkɔr-ni-k	want	sy-ni-nk fut-nu-nk	weave run
2 nd	fut-na-l ɔd-na-l	run give	sy-ni-tɛk	weave
3 rd	fut-nɔ- ɔ ɔd-nɔ- ɔ	run give	sy-ni-nɛk fut-na-nɛk	weave run

Table 38 Example of Present Conditional Indefinite (non-ik verbs)

The following sentences exemplify some of these forms in context.

(117)

ɔkɔr-ni-k ɛdʒ-ɛm vəʎəmi jut

want-OPT-1S.INDEF eat.SUBJ-1S.DEF something good

‘I would like to eat something good.’

(118)

el fut-na-l zemberetɣl ha lɛn:ɛ risɛges

away run-OPT-2S.INDEF from.husband if be.3S.OPT.PST drunkard

‘You would run away from your husband, if he was a drunkard.’

(119)

nyk nip-ek ə fəlub-ul syynik

we woman-PL the village-ELA weave.OPT.1PL.INDEF

‘We women would weave (but men have burnt their looms).’

Present Conditional Definite (non –ik verbs):

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	form	meaning of the stem	Form	meaning of the stem
1 st	ɔd-na-m	give	ɛd-ny-k vɛd-ny-k	eat buy, take
2 nd	ɔd-na-d	give	vɛd-ni-tɛk	buy, take
3 rd	?		ɔd-na-k	give

Table 39 Example of Present Conditional Definite (non -ik verbs)

The following sentences exemplify some of these forms in context.

(120)

tɛ nɛm ɔd-na-d ə bitʃikleta-d-ət ɛ tɛ vɛjɛ-d-nɛk

You not give-OPT-2S.DEF the bicycle-2S.POS the you son.in.law-2S.POS-DAT

‘You would not give your son-in-law your bike.’

(121)

ɛd-ny-k nyk smokin-ɛk-ɛt ha urə len:yk hoʃ tɛjynk
 eat-OPT-1PL.DEF we fig-PL-ACC if can be.1PL.OPT.PST that plant
 kopaʃ-t
 tree-ACC

‘We would eat a lot of figs, if we could plant a tree.’

The following are some examples of the other usages of the conditional mood.

Unreal comparatives:

This construction is formed with *len*, the conditional verb stem of the copula ‘to be’. An entire paradigm of the verb form is provided in table 46.

(122)

fɛl vɛtkɛst-el parkə len:ɛl ɛ siberie-bɛ
 up dress-2S.PRES as_if be.2S.OPT.PST the Siberia-ILLIN

‘You dressed up as if you were in Siberia.’

(123)

hordoz-ud-ik parkə lɛnːɛ ɛ zy sklav-iə

behave-MID-3S.INDEF as_if be.3S.OPT.PST the his servant-3S.POSS

‘He behaves as if (she) were his servant.’

The conditional form of the verb can also occur in circumstances in which the speaker wants to attenuate the wish, the request, and the suggestion. It brings some politeness to the discussion.

to attenuate a suggestion/ a request/ a wish:

(124)

nɛm kɛnɛ ʃitʃiɫ ɛ sɛtit-bɛ kə ront-od ɛl

not need.OPT read the darkness-ILLIN because destroy-2S.PRES away

ɛ sɛm-ei-d-ɛt

the eye-POSS.PL-2POSS-ACC

‘You shouldn’t read in the dark. Your eyes will go bad.’

(125)

zɪɔn nɛm kɛnɛ idʒik uɫɔn sok-ot

John not need.OPT drink.3S.SUBJ.INDEF that much-ACC

‘John shouldn’t drink that much.’

When the verb *ɔkɔr*– ‘want’ is used in the conditional form it attenuates the request, as shown in the example below.

(126)

ɔkɔr-na-m hɔʃ nɛ mig idʒal

want-OPT-1S that not drink.2S.SUBJ.INDEF

‘I would like you not to drink.’

Polite request:

(127)

urɔ lɛʃ:el mɛg sɛgis

can be.2S.OPT.PST PREV help

‘Could you help me?’

Expressing uncertainty:

(128)

hulnɔp, hulnɔp, kene mɛʃn-yɪnk²⁴ ə hult-hɔz

tomorrow, tomorrow, need.OPT go.SUBJ-1PL the dead-ALL

‘Tomorrow we would need to go to the dead.’

²⁴ The underlying form is *mɛn-j-yɪnk*.

vs. non-conditional verb form

(129)

kel mɛɲ-ɛk²⁵ pjatsa-bə hoɟ vɛdʒ-ɛk pitʃuka-t
 need.1SG.PRES go.SUBJ-1S.INDEF market-ILLIN that buy.SUBJ-1S potato-ACC

‘I need to go to the market to buy potato.’

Sentence (129) expresses a neutral statement, whereas (128) express the fact that the need is real but the fact of going to the dead is realizable but at a lower degree. The speaker is unsure if s/he will go to visit the dead for real.

PAST CONDITIONAL (usually irrealis past-conditionals)

The past conditional is formed by adding *vɔɔ* to the verb which is in present tense. *vɔɔ* is a second form of the copula ‘be’ which will be discussed in section 4.5.

²⁵ The underlying form is *mɛn-j-ɛk*.

(130)

mɛg ɬɔlgɔ-ts vɔɭɔ ɪŋgɛmɛt most ɛl lɛnɛl ɔd-vɔ
 PREV listen-2SG.PRES.INDEF be.3S.PST I.ACC now away be.2S.OPT.PST give-ADVP

‘You would be married, if you had listened to me.’

(131)

dakə ɛl jɔ-ts vɔɭɔ buɟu-rɔ
 if away come-2S.INDEF be.3S.PST fair-SUBL

mɛg lat-əd vɔɭɔ kovɔr-om-ot
 PREV see-2S be.3S.PST carpet-1S.POSS-ACC

‘If you had come to the fair you would have seen my carpet.’

vɔɭɔ needs to be studied in more detail. Apart from its participation in past conditionals, it is also found in complex past tense constructions. It also appears in the formation of a passive-like construction. It can be considered as being another past tense of the copula ‘to be’, as illustrated in table 40.

Complex Past tense:

Formation – verb in present tense plus *vɔlɔ* ‘be’.

(132)

hoz vɔlɔ ə tatə, mənən vɔlɔ bukurjeʃt-bə

bring.3S.PRES be.3S.PST the father, come be.3S.PST Bucharest-ILLIN

‘Father brought something, when he came from Bucharest.’

(133)

tɔn:ɔp kəl vɔlɔ mɛɲɛk ə primarje-ɛz

yesterday need.1S.PRES be.3S.PST go.SUBJ.1S.INDEF the cityhall-ALL

‘Yesterday I had to go to the cityhall.’

Passive-like constructions:

(134)

en vɔlek sipən fəl vɛtkɛz-vɛ mof:u ɪŋg-vəl

I be.1S.PST nicely up dress-ADVP purple shirt-INST

‘I was dressed nicely in a purple shirt.’

It can be considered another past tense form of the copula ‘to be’ as illustrated in the following table and examples.

Past tense:

	Singular	Plural
1 st	vɔlek/vɔlək/vɔlik	vɔlunk
2 nd	vola	vɔlatək
3 rd	vɔlə	vɔlanək

Table 40 Past tense form of the copula ‘to be’ - a second type

The following sentences exemplify some of these forms in context.

(135)

nyk vɔlunk dɔrik-ək ɲer-ynk vɔlə

We be.1PL.PST hard.working-PL earn-1PL.PRES be.3S.PST

‘If we were hard-working, we would earn.’

(136)

vɔlanək fɔz-ək-ɔi-m

be.3PL.PST pot-PL-POR-1S.POSS

‘They used to have pots.’

In conclusion, this section presented a detailed description of all the verbal conjugational paradigms depending on mood, definiteness and tense. It covered a large amount of information that is summarized in Tables 26 and 27.

Indefinite conjugation

			PRESENT	PAST	SUBJUNCTIVE	CONDITIONAL ²⁶
	1 st	non-ik verbs	-Vk	-Vm	-Vk	-NV-k
SINGULAR		ik verbs	-Vm	-Vm	-Vm	-NV-m
	2 nd	non-ik verbs	- (V)ts	-Vl	Ø	-NV-l
		-ik verbs	-Vl	-Vl	-Vl	?
	3 rd	non- ik verbs	Ø	Ø	-on/-εn/-o/-ε/-ɔ/- ønd	-NV-Ø
		ik-verbs	-ik	Ø	-ik	?
	1 st		-Vnk	-Vnk	-Vnk	-NV-nk
PLURAL	2 nd		(V)tVK	-(V)tVk	-VtVk	NV-tVk
	3 rd		-nVk	-Vk	-(V)nVk	-NV-nVk

Table 41 General template of the indefinite verbal conjugation for all its moods and verb groups

²⁶ NV is the symbol for the conditional marker na/ne. etc

Definite conjugation

		PRESENT	PAST	SUBJUNCTIVE	CONDITIONAL
SINGULAR	1 st	-Vm	-Vm	-Vm	-NV-m
	2 nd	-Vd	- Vd	-(V)d	-NV-d
	3 rd	-jə/-jɛ/-jɔ/- jo/ -i/-ɛ/-ɛn/-in	-ɛ/-ə/- ɔ/-ø/-o	-an/-ɛn/ -ɛ/-ə/-ɔ/-o	?
PLURAL	1 st	(j)Vk	-Vk	-Vk	-NV-k
	2 nd	ja/(i)tVk	-VtVK	-VtVk	-NV-tVk
	3 rd	-jak /-ik	-Vk	-Vk	-NV-k

Table 42 General template of the definite verbal conjugation for all its moods and verb groups

4.4 Definiteness in NMH

In NMH the verb has personal endings which agree in number with the subject. Nevertheless, they also differ depending on the type of object, more specifically depending on the definiteness of the object. The following are some characteristics as to when a definite verbal conjugation is used.

The clearest case is that definite objects get definite agreement and are marked by the definite article ε , as shown in (137) and (138). Indefinite objects

get indefinite agreement and are marked by the indefinite article *i*, as illustrated in (139) and (140).

(137)

en fyz-əm ε zɛbid-et

I cook-1S.DEF the food-ACC

‘I cook the food (I boil the food).’

(138)

en lat-əm ə fəlu-t mind

I see-1S.PRES.DEF the village-ACC all

‘I could see the whole village.’

(139)

køs:-ønøk²⁷ yk i flapɛ-t

knit.SUBJ-3PL.INDEF they a pullover-ACC

(mother told that) ‘They should knit a pullover.’

²⁷ The underlying form is kət-j-ønøk.

(140)

lat-ək i bitʃikleta-t

see-1S.PRES.INDEF a bicycle-ACC

‘I see a bicycle.’

Absence of a definite article does not immediately result in an indefinite noun. It has to be made clear that when a noun does not have a definite article, this does neither automatically trigger definite conjugation nor indefinite conjugation. Sentence (141) shows that not having a definite article triggers a definite conjugation, whereas sentence (142) below shows the opposite.

Definite

(141)

ket han-t-əm keje-t

when lose-PST-1S.DEF key-ACC

‘When I lost the key...’

Indefinite

(142)

mu	ves-ek		oredz-εt	kəl	ʃan:-ək ²⁸		belylɛ	εbid-εt
now	buy-1S.PRES.INDEF	rice-ACC	need	do.SUBJ-1S.INDEF			food-ACC	

‘Today I am buying rice. I need to make a good meal.’

Future research needs to be devoted to this issue in more detail to explore whether there are any generalizations concerning in which cases the absence of a definite determiner preceding the object noun triggers definite conjugation and in which cases it yields indefinite conjugation. A hypothesis that needs to be further analyzed is that the choice of conjugation is influenced by previous discourse. One might hypothesize that if the object is old information, i.e., it has mentioned in previous discourse, a definite verb conjugation is expected, whereas if it is new information, indefinite verb conjugation might be preferred. At present, it can only be stated that, when there is an overt definite article, the verb shows

²⁸ The underlying form is ʃan-j-ək.

definite conjugation, whereas an overt indefinite article is linked to indefinite conjugation.

(143)

tət:-ək ²⁹	eʃ	harəm	uj	rakjo-t	tət:-ynk ³⁰	mig	suk-ot
put.PST-3PL.DEF	one	three	finger	vodka-ACC	put.PST-1PL.INDEF		juice-ACC

beli

inside

‘They put three fingers’ vodka. We put some juice into it.’

In sentence (143) the object rakjo/vodka triggers definite conjugation of the verb, whereas the object suk/juice triggers indefinite conjugation. Neither of the objects is preceded by a determiner or a demonstrative. Still, they do trigger different verb conjugations. An explanation of this behavior can be found if one looks at the previous context, as illustrated in (144).

²⁹ The underlying form is təs-t-ək.

³⁰ The underlying form is təs-t-ynk.

Previous discourse

(144)

mig hoz-t-ak ə rakjo-t mig

while bring-PST-3PL the vodka-ACC

‘While they brought the vodka...’

As can be seen the noun *rakjo* – ‘vodka’ is mentioned in the previous discourse. Hence, when mentioned again, the verb is definite *tet:ek*. In contrast, *suk* – ‘juice’ was not mentioned before, hence the indefinite verb conjugation *tet:ynk*. Definite objects are marked with definite morphemes.

The following two sentences show cases in which the object of the sentence is not present. However, (145) indefinite conjugation is triggered, whereas in (146), definite conjugation is triggered. In this case as well, an explanation of this behavior is new vs. old information.

Indefinite conjugation

(145)

mig fyz-εk ə disnu-nək

cook-1S.PRES.INDEF the pig-DAT

‘Then I cook for the pigs.’

Definite conjugation

(146)

fyz-εm mεg uʃ

cook-1S.PRES.DEF PREV like.this

‘This is how I cook/prepare it.’

The previous discourse of sentence (146) is illustrated in (147). As can be seen, the unmentioned object in (146) is mentioned here. It is kafe/coffee, hence the definite conjugation, as illustrated below.

Previous discourse

(147)

se is-om rigvɛl kafe-t

and drink-1S.PRES.DEF morning coffee-ACC

‘I drink coffee in the morning.’

However, this topic must be analyzed carefully because there are cases in which new versus old information does not provide with a full account of the observed data. There were examples in which the object was not mentioned in previous discourse and nevertheless, it triggers definite conjugation. In the following example the noun *dolgo* –‘job’ was not mentioned before, but the conjugation is definite. Hence, this topic remains to be discussed in future research.

(148)

ɛ zember ɛl jø-t ʃan:-ə³¹ dolgo-t

the man away come-PST.3S.DEF do.SUBJ-3S work-ACC

‘This man has come to do the job.’

³¹ The underlying form is ʃan-j-ə.

Previous discourse

(149)

εz ε zember ɛrys:seb

this the man stronger

‘This man is stronger.’

1. Possessive nouns get definite conjugation as illustrated in (150) and (151).

(150)

tɛ ɛs-ɛd ε zen ɔlma-m-ət

you eat-2S.PRES.DEF the my apple-1S.POSS-ACC

‘You eat my apple.’

(151)

mamə mun-t-ɔ ɔɾɔs:-ɔ³² lɛ zen buza-m-ət

mother tell-PST-3S reap.SUBJ-3S.DEF down my wheat-1S.POSS-ACC

‘Mother told him to reap my wheat.’

³² The underlying form is ɔɾɔt-j-ɔ.

2. Depending on which quantifier precedes the noun the conjugation of the verb differs. In other words, different quantifiers trigger different verbal conjugations.

Quantifier	triggers definite conjugation	triggers indefinite conjugation
<i>zεgis</i> – all	OK	
<i>sok</i> – a lot		OK
<i>mind</i> – all	OK	
<i>minden</i> – every		OK
<i>minden fεle</i> - everything, every kind of thing	OK	OK
<i>morzo</i> – a bit		OK
<i>ɔɲɔ</i> - so.much	OK	OK

Table 43 List of Quantifiers and the Conjugation they trigger

***zεgis* – ‘all’**

The quantifier *zεgis* – ‘all’ always triggers definite conjugation on the verb as illustrated below. Moreover also when it functions as a positive indefinite pronoun it will trigger definite personal endings on the verb.

(152)

i nip ə fəlu-bul igiz-i ε zɛgis buba-t

a woman the village-ELA put-3S.PRES.DEF the all child-ACC

‘A woman from the village puts spells on all children’.

(153)

perkə tuʃ:-ə³³ zɛgis istori-t

perca know.SUBJ-3S.DEF all history-ACC

‘Perca knows the whole history.’

***sok* – ‘a lot’**

The quantifier *sok* triggers indefinite conjugation of the verb.

(154)

nem tɛs sok bor-t i ʃɛpet

not put-3S.PRES.INDEF a.lot wine-ACC a little

‘She doesn’t add much wine, only a little.’

³³ The underlying form is tud-j-ə.

(155)

it ε fəlu-bə ny-tət-nək sok disnu-t
 here the village-ILLIN raise-CAUS-3PL.PRES.INDEF a.lot pig-ACC

‘In the village they are raising a lot of pigs.’

mindən ‘every’

The quantifier *mindən* triggers indefinite conjugation of the verb.

Indefinite

(156)

vags mindən mold-ut
 chop-2S.PRES.INDEF every thing-ACC

‘You chop up all sorts of things.’

(157)

mamə munto fyz:-ən³⁴ mindən-t
 mother says-PST-3S.DEF cook.SUBJ-3S.INDEF every-ACC

‘Mother told him to cook everything.’

³⁴ The underlying form is fyz-j-ən.

minden fele - ‘everything/every kind of thing’ – mixed results

Definite

(158)

hug-om, vet:-ek³⁵ minden-felet

sister-1S.POSS buy.PST-3PL.DEF everything

‘My sister, they bought everything for her.’

Indefinite

(159)

en most jan-ək minden-felet

I now do-1S.PRES.INDEF everything

‘I now can do everything.’

mind – ‘all’ – triggers definite conjugation on the verb.

(160)

y mæg et:-ε³⁶ mind

he PREV eat.PST-3S.DEF all

‘He ate it all.’

³⁵ The underlying form is ved-t-ek.

³⁶ The underlying form is et-t-e.

(161)

dʒermək nɛm ɛtː-ɛ mɛg mind ɛ zɛbid-ɛ
 boy not eat.PST-3S.DEF PREV all the food-ACC

‘The boy didn’t eat all the food.’

morzo – ‘a bit’ – there were just three examples but all triggered indefinite conjugation.

indefinite

(162)

ket vɛtː-ɛl³⁷ i morzo turu-t (okːor ʃupɔ turuɔl ment
 lɛ mɔligɔ)

when take.PST-2S a bite cheese-ACC

‘When you took a bite of cheese, then the polenta went down with cheese only.’

(163)

munʝɔ ʃan-ɔtɔk³⁸ nɛkɛm morzo mɔlega-t...
 say.3S.PRES make.SUBJ-2PL.INDEF 1S.DAT a.bit polenta-ACC...

‘He says: make me a bit of polenta and...’

³⁷ The underlying form is vɛd-t-ɛl.

³⁸ The underlying form is ʃan-j-ɔtɔk.

ɔ̃ni/ɔ̃ni:i/ɔ̃ni:ɔ̃ - ‘so much’

There were very few examples and the situation is unclear at this point.

Definite

(164)

lat:-əm³⁹ ɔ̃ni sɔ̃jt-ot pɔ̃jatsa-bə
 see.PST-1S.DEF so.much cheese-ACC market-ILLIN

‘I saw so much cheese in the market.’

Indefinite

(165)

ne mig ɛdʒil ɔ̃ni:ɔ̃ kəpʃun-t
 not eat.2S.SUBJ.INDEF so.much strawberry-ACC

‘Don't eat that much strawberry.’

³⁹ The underlying form is lat-t-əm.

3. Numerals preceding nouns trigger definite personal endings

(166)

en ɛs-ɛm harəm suskə puj-t

I eat-1S.PRES.DEF three ears corn-ACC

‘I ate three ears of corn.’

4. Different constructions might trigger different verb conjugation

The following examples are interesting because they illustrate a difference between the lexical middle verb and the active verb. Although in both cases the same verb morphology is used, the difference is in the personal endings. The lexical middle verbs get the *-ik* suffix which is 3rd person indefinite present tense indicative as in (170), (171), and (172); in contrast, the active verbs take the *-en/-i/-in* suffix which is 3rd person definite present tense indicative, as in (167), (168), and (169). Namely, the middle verb takes the indefinite personal ending and the active verb takes the definite personal ending.

3rd person definite conjugation – Active form

(167)

mamə vetkez-in mindən rəgvəl ə λano-ʃka-t

mother dress-3S.DEF.PRES every morning the girl-DIM-ACC

‘Mother dresses the girl every morning.’

(168)

zəp:ə vetkez-in lɛ buba-t fɛkis:ɛ lɛ

mother dress-3S.DEF.PRES down baby-ACC lie.SUBJ.3S.DEF.PRES down

‘Mother undresses the child to put him down to sleep.’

(169)

yltez-in ə λan-oʃka-t

put.on.footwear-3S.DEF.PRES the girl-DIM-ACC

‘She puts on shoes on the girl.’

3rd person indefinite conjugation – Lexical Middle

(170)

ɲirasə vɛtkɛz-ik sip fejer-bɛ, (ʃantə-sɛmɛit-ha-sipen-vɛtkɛzik)

bride dress-3S.INDEF.PRES beautiful white-ILLIN

‘The bride dresses in nice white, made up her eyes. She dresses beautifully.’

(171)

y vɛtkɛz-ik lɛ

he dress.3S.INDEF.PRES down

‘He undresses.’

(172)

mamə ɣltɛz-ik vər fɛl ɣltɛz-ɛt

mother put.on.footwear-3S.INDEF.PRES or up put.on.footwear-3S.PST

‘Mother puts on shoes or put on shoes.’

In conclusion, this topic needs to be further investigated. What accounts for the definite vs. indefinite verbal conjugation contrast in NMH? Is it uniqueness vs. non-uniqueness, familiarity vs. novelty, specificity vs. non-specificity or a

synthesis of all? Finally, a deeper analysis regarding constructions which trigger definite conjugation awaits to be performed.

4.5 The Copula ‘to be’

The copula ‘to be’ in NMH has different forms depending on the tense and the mood it occurs in. The potential form of the copula is *lehet* or its variant *leet*. The negative form of the copula is *nif* or its free variants *nifé*, *nifén* and *nifend* – singular and *nifenek* – plural. In the subsequent discussion the different forms of the verb will be given. The conditional verb stem is *len*. In very few cases another conditional form of the copula ‘to be’ is used, usually for the irrealis conditional. This is another past tense form of the copula ‘to be’ - *vɔlik*, which was discussed in table 40 above.

The copula occurs in a variety of constructions, such as existential, conditional, locative, possessive, nominal and attributive predication.

The present tense form of the copula ‘to be’ is presented in the following table.

Present tense indicative:

	Singular	Plural
1 st	vɔjɔk/vɔjɔk/vɔjɔk	vɔjɔnk/vɔjɔnk
2 nd	vɔts	vɔt:ɔk
3 rd	vɔj/vɔjɔ/vɔjɔ/vɔjɔnd	vɔn:ɔk

Table 44 Present tense of the copula ‘to be’

In the case of attributive and nominal predication in NMH, the copula is not used in 3rd person singular, as illustrated in (173) and (176) respectively. However, in 3rd person plural of attributive and nominal constructions, the copula ‘to be’ is used as illustrated in (175) and (177).

Attributive predication:

(173)

y bɛteg

he sick

‘S/he is sick.’

vs.

(174)

tɛ vɔts bɛtɛg

you be.2S.PRES sick

‘You are sick.’

vs.

(175)

yk vɔn:ɔk fɛlifiltɔk

they be.3PL.PRES happy

‘They are happy.’

Nominal predication:

(176)

y inzjɲɛr

he engineer

‘He is an engineer.’

(177)

nyk vɔɯnk tənitu-k

we be.1PL.PRES teacher-PL

‘We are teachers.’

(178)

yk vɔnɔk tənitu-k

they be.3PL.PRES teacher-PL

‘They are teachers.’

In existential and possessive constructions the 3rd person form of the copula *vɔɯ* for singular and the 3rd person plural form *vɔnɔk* are used.

(179)

vɔɯ i tʃuk ə haz-bə

be.3S.PRES a egg the house-ILLIN

‘There is a chicken in the house.’

(180)

ɔ zen ɛmber-ɛm-nək vən:ək øʃe-i sə hugɔ-i

the my man-1S.POSS-DAT be.3PL.PRES brother-3PL.POSS and sister-3PL-GEN

‘My husband has brothers and sisters.’

Nevertheless, in the database I have also found examples in which the possessed entity is plural but the copula is singular. The object in these sentences is preceded by a numeral. In NMH nouns have singular and plural forms. Nevertheless, if the noun is preceded by a numeral, it does not take the plural morphology. Hence, there is no double marking of plurality. It might be the case that in NMH, if the possessed entity is singular even if the whole noun phrase has a plural meaning, the copula is sensitive to the singular marking of the noun and takes the singular form *vɔʃɔ* and not the plural form *vən:ək*.

(181)

ə dʒɛrmək-ɛt, vɔj ɛ ket dʒɛrmək-ɛm, ʃan-t-əm ej:-ɛl
 the boy-ACC, be.3SG.PRES the two boy-1S.POSS, do-PST-1S night-AD
 minde-ket:-øt
 all-two-ACC

‘And the boy, I have two boys. I gave birth to both of them at night.’

(182)

primar-nək ə fəlu-bə vɔjɔ harəm øtʃø
 mayor-DAT the village-ILLIN be.3S.PRES three brother

‘The mayor in this village has three brothers.’

In conclusion, the copula ‘to be’ does not occur in present tense attributive and nominal predications with 3rd person singular subjects as shown in (183) but does occur in 3rd person plural (178). However, it does occur in past tense constructions, as shown in (184).

(183)

y bɛtɛg

he sick

‘S/he is sick.’

(184)

bɛtɛg-ɛʃkɛ is ult

sick.DIM too be.3SG.PAST

‘He was sick too.’

The past tense form of the verb is illustrated in the following table.

Past tense:

	Singular	Plural
1 st	ultɔm	ultunk
2 nd	ultal	ultɔtɔk
3 rd	ult	ultɔk

Table 45 Past tense of the copula ‘to be’

The copula ‘to be’ can also occur in locative constructions. Here again there is a difference between present and past tense as illustrated below.

(185)

ə mɔŋkɔ ə zəjtu uto

the cat the door behind

‘The cat is behind the door.’

(186)

ə haz-əm ə həd tetej-ind

the house-1S.POSS the mountain top-SUP

‘The house is on top of the mountain.’

In past tense the copula ‘to be’ is used, as illustrated by the following example.

(187)

bɯnikɔ ult ɛ kɛr-bɛ

grandma 3S.PST the garden-ILLIN

‘Grandma was in the garden.’

In locative constructions there is no usage of ‘to be’, apart from negative locative constructions.

(188)

nifɛnd ɛz-ɛnd ɛ hɛdz-ɛn, ə masak-ɔnd

be.NEG.3S.PRES this-SUB the mountain-SUB the other-SUB

‘It isn’t on this mountain, it’s on the other.’

In the following sentence the 3SG.PRES form of the copula is used. This is a sign that the sentence is existential, literally meaning, ‘it isn’t on this mountain, it exists on the other one’.

(189)

nifɛnd ɛzɛnd ɛ hɛdz-ɛn, vɔjɔ masak hɛdz-ɛnd

be.NEG.3S.PRES this-SUB the mountain-SUB be.3SG.PRES other mountain-SUB

‘It isn’t on this mountain; it’s on the other mountain.’

Let us look in more detail at the negative copula.

Negation present tense:

There are two main forms and their variants. The singular form is *nif/nifɛ/nifɛn/nifɛnd* and the plural form *nifɛnɛk*.

(190)

niʃɛnɛk, most niʃɛnɛk virag-ə̀k
 be.NEG.3PL.PRES, now be.NEG.3PL.PRES flowers-PL

‘There aren't any flowers now.’

(191)

niʃɛn kert nɔʃ
 be.NEG.3S.PRES garden big

‘I don't have a big garden.’

niʃɛn can never negate a verb. In this case the negative particles *nɛm* and *nɛ* are used. As in the case of the other constructions with this copula, the negative construction also has a dative subject.

(192)

nekɛd niʃɛn ydyd kyld ɛ dʒɛrmɛk-ɛt segis:-ɛn⁴⁰ mɛg
 you.DAT be.NEG.3S.PRES time send.3S.SUBJ the boy-ACC help.SUBJ- 3S.INDEF PREV

‘(if) you don't have time to send the boy to help me.’

⁴⁰ The underlying form is segit-j-ɛn.

An interesting occurrence of the negative copula in NMH is in the following construction. The negative copula *nif* followed by the noun *vɔjɛ*. The noun *vɔjɛ* is borrowed from Romanian, meaning permission. Romanian has a similar construction, as exemplified below.

(193)

Romanian

Nu este voie să

No 3SG.PRES permission SUBJ....

‘It is not allowed to...’

The NMH construction has a negative copula *nif* plus the Romanian noun *vɔjɛ* getting the same meaning ‘it is not allowed to ...’

(194)

nif vɔjɛ səl tɛd: ɛ fyl-bɛ, ʃan-s drogo-t

be.NEG.3PL.PRES permission put.3S.SUBJ the grass-ILLIN do-2S.PRES drug-ACC

‘It is not allowed to plant it in the grass, to do drugs.’

(197)

dakə lən:inek para-id urə lən:ik vəjək i mesəna-t

if be.3PL.OPT.PST money-2S.POSS can be.1S.OPT.PST buy.SUBJ.1S a car-ACC

‘If they had money, I could buy a car.’

Potential form of ‘to be’ ləhet/ləet

(198)

mələg-əjkə viz ləhet/ləet ferejil

warm-DIM water be.POT.PRES bath

‘The water is warm here so you can bath.’

(199)

ləhet məj⁴¹ həzə mu-rə vigez-t-ynk

be.POT.PRES go.2S.SUBJ home today-SUB finish-PST-1PL

‘You can go home. We finished for today.’

Another usage of the copula ‘to be’ is in presumptive constructions. The **presumptive** is used to express presupposition or hypothesis regarding the fact

⁴¹ The underlying form is men-j.

denoted by the verb, as well as other more or less similar attitudes: doubt, curiosity, concern, condition, indifference, inevitability. In NMH the presumptive is formed with *les* – ‘will be’, become. The *les* can a) accompany a verb and b) be the only verb in the clause. In both cases it agrees in number with the subject.

Presumptive constructions: *les* accompanying a verb

(200)

urɔ̌ les:-ɛk dɔlgɔz-ɔm ɛ hɛʎ-ɛt

can be-1S.PRES work-1S.PRES the field-ACC

‘(I don’t know) if I might be able/will be able to work the field.’

(201)

ɛl mɛn-t les

away go-PST be.3S.PRES

‘He might have gone.’

Presumptive constructions: *les* on its own

(202)

nem les-nək para-ik

not be.3PL.PRES money-3PL.POSS

‘They might not have money.’

(203)

byg ε zyny nem les εbidzik

cry.3S.PRES the cow not be.3S.PRES food

‘The cow cries. She might not have received food.’

The following two sentences express the speaker’s uncertainty of being able to finish a particular job before someone’s departure. The uncertainty in both (204) and (205) is expressed by using the expressions *nem bizəm* – ‘I don’t think’ and *nem tudom* – ‘I don’t know’. Sentence (205) however, also has *les* – ‘will be, become’. Hence, in (205) the uncertainty is even higher.

(204)

nɛm	biz-ɔm	lɛ	vigɛzɪ-ɛm	ə	kovor-ət	mig	ɛl
not	think-1S.PRES	PREV	finish-1S.PRES	the	carpet-ACC	before	away
mɛns	tɛ	varəs-bə					
go.2S.PRES	you	city-ILLIN					

‘I don’t think I (can) sew the carpet before you leave/go to the city.’

(205)

nɛm	tud-om	ha	urɔ	lɛs-ɛk	lɛ	vigɛzɪ-ɛm	ə
not	know-1S.PRES	if	can	be.3.PRES	PREV	finish-1S.PRES	the
kovor-t	mig	ɛl	mɛn-ɛk	ə	varəs-bə		
carpet-ACC	before	away	go.1S.PRES	the	city-ILLIN		

‘I don’t know if I might be able to sew the carpet before I leave/go to the city.’

In this section other verbal paradigms such as middle, causative, adverbial, and infinitive paradigms will not be discussed. These issues, together with the frequentative -get and the Adverbial Participle formation, will be dealt with in section 4.8 on derivational verbal morphology.

4.6 Preverbs – Verb Particles

NMH has a very rich system of verbal particles or preverbs which are separable from the stem. They mark direction (*le* 'down', *ki* 'out', etc.) and aspect (*mɛg* 'completed') and can be combined with many types of verbs. In many cases, the verb acquires a different meaning depending on what particle is attached to it, e.g. *ki fanudik* 'X opened' vs. *be fanudik* 'X closed'.

Verbal particles may have two positions depending on the emphasis within the sentence. In the case of a neutral sentence or in yes or no questions, the particle is a prefix attached to the verb. The particle follows the verb in questions, in negatives and when any part of the sentence is emphasized.

(206)

tɔn:ɔp	hug-om	be	ʃantə	zəjtu-t
yesterday	sister-1POSS	in	make.3S.PST	door-ACC

'Yesterday my sister closed the door.'

(207)

hulnɔp en ʃanɔm be zəjtu-t

tomorrow I make.1S in door.ACC

‘Tomorrow I will close the door.’

More information about verbal particles/ preverbs will be provided in section 4.13 on word order.

4.7 Word formation

This section discusses **derivational morphology**. Derivational suffixes which change the part of speech of a word are very common and productive. Verbs, nouns, adjectives and even adverbs can be further derived. Suffixation is the primary means for producing new forms in NMH derivational morphology. Suffixes are added to one part of speech in order to change it into another or to qualify the part of speech they are added to. First, I will briefly provide some examples of derivational suffixes in which the stem is a noun or an adjective. The main part of this section will however treat cases in which the stem is a verb, as it is the main topic of the present work.

Suffixes added to an Adjective Stem:

a) the suffix *-sag/seg* –is added to an adjective in order to form a noun

Adjective stem	Derived Noun
həs:u ‘long’	həs:usag ‘length’
ju ‘good’	jusag ‘goodness’
ɲir ‘wet’	ɲirsag ‘wetness’
tistɔ ‘clean’	‘tistɔsag’ cleanness

Table 47 Adjective to Noun derivation with the suffix –sag/s g

(208)

niʃən uʎɔn tistɔsag ə spital-bə

be.NEG.3S so cleanness the hospital-ILLIN

‘There is no cleanness in the hospital.’

b) the suffix *-es-* is added to an adjective in order to form a noun

Adjective stem	Derived Noun
nɛhɛz ‘heavy’	nɛhɛzɛs ‘pregnant’
ɛgis:ig ‘health’	ɛgis:iges healthy

Table 48 Adjective to Noun derivation with the suffix - s

(209)

ɛ zion ɛsik parkə lɛn:ɛ nɛhɛzɛs

the John eat.3S as.if be.3S.OPT.PST pregnant

‘John is eating as if he was pregnant.’

c) the *-ul/yl-* suffix is added to adjectives in order to form verbs

Adjective Stem	Derived Verb
veres 'red'	veresyl 'get red'
mēlēg 'warm'	mēlēgyl 'to get warm/warm up'
reseg 'drunk'	resegyl 'to get drunk'

Table 49 Adjective to verb derivation with the suffix –ul/yl

d) the *–it-* suffix is added to adjective to form verbs

Adjective Stem	Derived Verb
fejer 'white'	fejerit 'he wightens'

Table 50 Adjective to verb derivation with the suffix –it

Suffixes added to a Noun Stem:

a) The suffix *-os/us/es-* is added to a noun to form an adjective

Noun stem	Derived Adjective
kults 'corner'	kultsos 'cornery'
kapusta 'cabbage'	kapustas 'cabbagey'
meter 'meter'	metrus 'metered' (like a two-metered carpet)
zilvōs 'beads'	zilvōsus 'beady' (like in zilvōsus ing – beady shirt)
tefel 'cream'	tefeles 'creamy'

Table 51 Noun to Adjective derivation with the suffix - s/us/ s

(210)

zilvɔsus ing

beady shirt

‘Beady shirt’

b) The suffix *–u/ju/y–* is added to nouns to form adjectives

Noun Stem	Derived Adjectives
hɔj ‘hair’	haju ‘haired (as in black-haired)’
sɛm ‘eye’	sɛmy ‘eyed’ (as in blue - eyed)

Table 52 Noun to Adjective derivation with the suffix –u/-ju/y

(211)

kik semy dʒɛrmɛk

blue eyed boy

‘The blue eyed boy’

(212)

εz ə λaŋ fɛkɛtɛ hɔju

the this girl black haired

‘This girl is black-haired.’

c) The suffix *-etlɛn-* is attached to nouns to form adjectives and denotes ‘without’ or qualified as not having’.

Noun Stem	Derived Adjectives
id ‘mind’	idɛtlɛn ‘mindless’
fystɛl ‘smoked’	fystɛlɛtlɛn ‘unsmoked’

Table 53 Noun to Adjective derivation with the suffix - tl n

(213)

εz i nɪp mɛɬik nɛm ɛs-yd-ik, idɛtlɛn

this the woman who not smart-MID-3S, mindless

‘This is a woman who cannot get smarter. She is mindless / stupid.’

4.8 Verbal Derivational Morphology

The following derivational processes will be discussed in this section:: from verb to adjective, from verb to noun, from verb to adverb, and from verb to verb.

The verb-to-verb derivational process brings about change in voice, from active to middle and from active to causative. Moreover, the frequentative and adverbial participle word formation is presented. Verbal inflectional morphology has been discussed above in the sections on personal endings.

4.9 Verb To Adjective

Three suffixes that derive an adjective from a verb were found in my data: a) the suffix *-s/-us/-ys/-ys:/-əs* is added to the stem of the verb, b) the suffix *-t* is added to the stem of the verb, and c) the suffixes *-etlən/-otlon/-ətlən/-ɔtlən/-øtløn* (and other variations due to vowel harmony) are added to the stem of the verb. It is not predictable which verbs will get which one of the three suffixes. Regarding productivity, the first two suffixes are not as productive as *-etlən/-otlon/-ətlən/-ɔtlən/-øtløn* suffix. Another important difference between these three suffixes is that only the *--etlən/-otlon/-ətlən/-ɔtlən/-øtløn* suffix can occur in an adverbial usage. It must be said that the adverbial usage was more frequent than the adjectival usage.

a) Adding the suffix *-s* to the stem of the verb

The allomorphs: *-s*, *us*, *ys*, *ys:*, *os*

verb stem	derived adjective
riu 'laugh'	rius 'laughing'
kotsog 'cry'	kotsogus 'crying'
besil 'talk'	besilys: 'chatty'
mos 'wash'	mosus 'washing'
dolgoz 'work'	dolgozus 'working'
šovor 'squeeze, roll'	šovoros 'windy'
film 'shine'	fimlys 'shiny'

Table 54 Verb to adjective derivation with the suffix -s added on the verb

As can be seen in the case of the two *-ik* verbs *dolgozik* and *fimlik* the suffix *-s* is added to the stem after deleting the *-ik* ending of the verb in third person singular present tense indefinite form.

The following sentences exemplify some of the above-mentioned forms in context.

(214)

miʃe rius bubo

What crying baby

'What a crying baby.'

(215)

εz ε zember dolgozus dorfi, borbat

This the man hard.working very, hard.working

‘This man is very hard-working, hard-working.’

b) Adding the suffix *-t* to the verb

Usually this suffix is used for past tense. Nevertheless, in the following instances it is used to derive an adjective from a verb.

verb stem	derived adjective
koloral ‘color’	koloralt ‘colored’
alintal ‘spoil’	alintalt ‘spoiled’
pergel ‘fry’	pergelt ‘fried’
potrivil ‘fit’	potrivilt ‘average’
linjstl ‘calm’	linjstilt ‘calm’
fystel ‘smoke’	fystelt ‘smoked’
rənil ‘wound’	rənilt ‘wounded’
jar ‘go’	jart ‘well traveled’
ʃudal ‘surprise’	ʃudalt ‘surprised, disfigured’

Table 55 Verb to adjective derivation with the suffix -t added to the verb

The following examples illustrate some of these forms in context.

(216)

koloralt plumb-ok

color pencil-PL

‘colored pencils’

(217)

εz ε rezil ult dorʃo alintalt

This the king be.3S.PST very spoiled

‘This king was very spoiled.’

If the verb has a middle voice suffix, the *-ik* suffix as well as the middle voice suffix are deleted before adding the derivational suffix *-t*. So the suffix is neither added to *fudalkəzik* nor to *fudalkəz* but to the verb stem *fudal* becoming *fudalt*.

(218)

it jar ε ket broskɔ ε təkənys broskɔ

here come.3S.PRES the two frog the wooden.tub.ADJ frog

sε λaŋə-ʃkə ʃudal-kəzik

and girl-DIM surprise- MID.3S.PRES

‘The two frogs come here and the turtle and the girl are surprised.’

(219)

mεg ijəd-ət ε tyz-tyl, uλɔn ʃudalt

PREV scare.3S.PST the fire-ABL, so surprised

‘He got scared of the fire. He is disfigured.’

c) The suffix *-etlən/-otlon/-ətlən/-ɔtlən/-øtlən*

The suffix *-etlən/-otlon/-ətlən/-ɔtlən/-øtlən* (and other variations due to vowel harmony) can be added to verbs, nouns and adjectives, resulting in a negative

meaning ‘without’ or qualified as not having’. This suffix can be translated into English as the prefix - un - such as ‘unwashed’, ‘unshaved’ etc.

It is a very productive suffix. Even in cases of made-up words the consultant immediately understood and could make sense of a verb plus the suffix *-etlən*.

With the other suffixes this was not the case.

Verb stem	Derived adjective
vətkez ‘dress’	vətkezetlən ‘undressed’
fysyl ‘comb’	fysyletlən ‘uncombed’
arul ‘sell’	arulətlən ‘unsold’
fystel ‘smoke’	fysteletlən ‘unsmoked’
rag ‘chew’	ragətlən ‘unchewed’
borotval ‘shave’	borotvalətlən ‘unshaved’
mos ‘wash’	mosətlən ‘unwashed’
vag ‘cut’	vagətlənd ‘uncut’
ɲer ‘sheer’	ɲerətlənd ‘unsheered’
kapal ‘hoe’	kapalətlənd ‘unhoed’
sant ‘plow’	santətlənd ‘unplowed’
bujil ‘paint’	bujilətlənd ‘unpainted’
kuɟl ‘lock’	kuɟlətlənd ‘unlocked’

Table 56 Verb to adjective derivation with the suffix - tl n added to the verb

The following are some sentences exemplifying these forms in context.

(220)

nε mεp: uʃ vεtkεz-εtlεn

not go.2S.SUBJ dress-not

‘Don’t go undressed.’

(221)

εz ε fystel-εtlεn piʃiɲε nεm tɔrt sok-ot

This the smoke-not meat not keep.3S.PRES a.lot-ACC

‘This unsmoked meat doesn’t last long.’

(222)

εz ə flapε εl mɔrt kɔt-ɔtlɔn

the this shirt away keep.3S.PST knit-not

‘This shirt remained unknitted.’

The adverbial usage of the suffix *-εtlεn/-otlon/-ətlən/-ɔtlən/-øtløn* form is much more frequent than its adjectival usage.

4.10 Verb to Noun

Two suffixes that derive a noun from a verb were found in the data: a) adding the suffix *-u/-y* to the stem of the verb and b) adding the suffix *-as/-is* to the stem of the verb.

a) THE SUFFIX *-u/-y*

Description: the animate noun has the ability to perform the action of the base verb; the inanimate derived noun is either the tool used to perform the action or what the action is performed upon.

verb stem	derived noun
tənit 'teach'	tənitu 'teacher'
kapal 'hoe'	kapalu 'things to hoe'
fys 'comb'	fysy 'comb'
səret 'love'	sərety 'lover'

*Table 57 Verb to noun derivation with the suffix *-u/-y* added to the verb*

The following sentences exemplify some of these forms in context.

(223)

y tənitu

he teacher

‘He is a teacher.’

(224)

el foʔot: ə kapalu, ə dolog

away finish.3S.PST the things.to.hoe, the work

‘The things to hoe/chores are finished.’

b) The suffix - *as/is*

Usually this suffix carries the meaning of ‘act of the verb stem’.

verb stem	derived noun
ɲug ‘rest’	ɲuguas, ɲugodas ‘rest/the act of resting’
votal ‘vote, elect’	votalas ‘elections/ the act of voting’
kəpal ‘hoe’	kopalas ‘hoeing/ the act of hoeing’
ir ‘write’	iras ‘letter’
ɔrət/ zərət ‘harvest’	zərəst ‘harvesting/ the act of harvesting’
fɔʔ ‘eat’	fɔʔas ‘a bite’
vət ‘sew’	vətis ‘woven/sewn fabric’

Table 58 Verb to noun derivation with the suffix –as/is

The following sentences exemplify some of these forms in context.

(225)

ɲugwas ju

rest good

‘Rest is good.’

(226)

mu ult votalas zegis romape-be

today be.3S.PST elections all Romania-ILLIN

‘Today there were general elections in whole Romania.’

4.11 Verb To Verb

All the above-mentioned derivation processes have resulted in change of word class. The following derivational suffixes do not change the word class but the semantics of the input. Some change the voice from active to middle or from active to causative. Another one is added to the verb stem to denote an action which is done slowly with not too much intensity during a period of time. A third type of suffix is the formation of the adverbial participle of a verb.

4.11.1 Middle voice suffixes –their formation

There are three suffixes⁴² that derive a middle verb form from an active verb form: a) *-yl/-ul*, b) *-yd/-ud/-od/-ed*, and c) *-kəz/-koz/-kez/-køz* or *-ked/-kəd*.⁴³

a) *-ul/yl*

It is most frequently added to adjectives to form a middle form verb, which usually has the meaning of an internal process that the protagonist undergoes, such as inchoative/spontaneous constructions, *verəsyl* - ‘gets red’, *betegylt* - ‘became sick’, and *tejesylt* - ‘got milky’.⁴⁴

Nevertheless, in very few cases this suffix is also added to a stem of a verb in order to form a middle voice verb, as illustrated below.

active verb	middle verb
tən ‘teach’	tənul
ford ‘turn over’	fordul

Table 59 Active verb to middle verb derivation with the suffix –yl/ul

⁴² Future research on NMH will say for sure if there are three or four middle suffixes. In Standard Hungarian, *ked* and *kez* suffix are considered one and the same, without any way to predict when one or the other will occur; however, we have started to notice that there are differences in their functional distribution.

⁴³ In some Hungarian grammars the forms are written as *ydik* and *kezik*, however we decided that the correct form is *yd* and *kez* because *-ik* is the 3rd person personal ending of group 2 *ik*-verbs discussed in chapter 7.

⁴⁴ To the noun *teje* the suffix *-s* is added resulting in the adjective *tejes* to whom the suffix *-yl* is attached resulting in the middle verb *tejesyl*. The final suffix *-t* is the past tense marker.

The following sentences exemplify some of the forms in context.

(227)

a. ε tənit-od olaul sɛ y tənit mɔdʒɔrul (active)

the teach-2S.PRES Romanian and she teach.3SG.PRES Hungarian

‘You teach her Romanian and she teaches you Hungarian.’

b. y tən-ul sy-ni i fabrika-nal (middle)

he teach-MID.PRES.3G weave-INF a factory-ADD

‘He is learning to weave in the factory.’

(228)

a. sel fɛl fordʒitɔ kərutsa-t (active)

wind up turn.3S.PST cart -ACC

‘The wind turned over the cart.’

b. lɛ ford-ul-t ə kərutsə (middle)

down turn.MID.PST.3S the cart

‘The cart turned over.’

b) -yd/-ud/-od/-ed

This middle suffix is most frequently added to verbs as illustrated in table 60 below. Nevertheless, there are cases in which it is also added to adjectives such as *moʃkoludik* – ‘get dirty’ and *ɲɛrvaludik* – ‘get angry’. More about the function of this middle suffix is presented in the subsequent discussion in chapter 6.

active verb	middle verb
mutal ‘move’	mutaludik
dylyl ‘hate’	dylylydik
ʃufoʌ ‘mock’	ʃufoʌudik
nɛz ‘look’	nɛzydik
mos ‘wash’	mosudik

Table 60 Active verb to middle verb derivation with the suffix yd/ud

The following sentences exemplify some of the forms in context.

(229)

ɛl mutal-t-ə biʃikleta-t hɛʌi-byɫ (active)

away move-PST-3S bicycle-ACC place-ELA

‘He moved the bicycle from its place.’

(230)

mare mutal-ud-ik nɛɛzɛnd (middle)

Mary move-MID-3S.PRES Difficult

‘Mary moves with difficulty.’

(231)

dylyl-ɛm ɛstɛ mare-t (active)

hate-1S.PRES this Mary-ACC

‘I hate this Mary.’

(232)

ɛz-ɛk ə nip-ɛk dylyl-yd-nɛk (middle)

this-PL The woman-PL hate-MID-3PL.INDEF

‘These women hate each other.’

The following is an interesting example of middle word formation. The verb *ɔd*-‘give’ in sentence gets the meaning of getting married but only for females when the middle *-ud* suffix is added to it, *ɔdudik*-‘marry’. The verb get married for man is *hasul*.

(233)

a. nɛm lat-əm ə ʎaŋ-əʃkə mi-t ɔd nɛki

not see-1S.PRES the girl-DIM what-ACC give.3S.PRES he.DAT

‘I can't see what the girl is giving to him.’

b. ɔd-ud-ik ə ʎeɹɪ-ik sɛ vɛsi i mɔʃɔr

give- MID.3S.PRES the girl-3PL.POSS and take.3S.PRES a Hungarian

‘Their daughter is getting married and a Hungarian is marrying her.’

c) - kəz/koz/kɛz/kɛd

active verb	middle verb
borotval 'shave'	borotvalkəzik
gondol 'think'	gondolkozik
tørøl 'wipe'	tørøylkɛzik
dʒyl 'meet'	dʒylkɛzik
ker 'ask'	kerdyzkɛdik
ɛrɛs 'let'	ɛrɛskɛdik

Table 61 Active to middle verb derivation with the suffix k z/k d

The following sentences exemplify some of these forms in context.

(234)

a. lɛ borotvaltə muspatsa-i-t (active)

down shave.3S.PST moustache-3S.POSS-ACC

‘He shaved off his moustache.’

b. borotval-kəz-ik sə ɲer-ydik (middle)

shave-MID-3S.PRES and sheer-MID.3S.PRES

‘He is shaving and getting his hair cut short.’

(235)

a.

ʃorts-hoz tərəl-əm kɛzɛ-i-m-ɛt (active)

apron-ALL wipe-1S hand-PL.POSS-1S.POSS-ACC

‘I wipe my hands against the apron.’

b.

tøryl-kez-ik ε prosop-hoz (middle)

wipe-MID-3S.PRES the towel-ALL

‘She is wiping in the towel.’

The following are some interesting examples of middle word formation which are not conceptualized by the consultants as middle formation. The word *menেকেzy* means wedding in NMH. As one can see, it is formed from *men* plus the reciprocal middle suffix *-kez*. *men* comes from *menেকে* which means young lady. Thus adding the middle suffix *-kez* to the word ‘young lady’ forms the noun *menেকেzy*, maybe meaning that two people have exchanged vows—transforming the young lady into a married woman. Although this is not a verbal derivation process, it is interesting to mention.

A thorough analysis of these three middle suffixes, their function and usage will be provided in chapters 6, 7, and 8.

4.11.2 The Causative suffix

The causative suffix - *tət* is not productive and occurs with very few verbs. It is attached to the verb stem and it is followed by any personal marking suffixes as any other verb would be. My consultants were not aware of the fact that these forms are morphological causative constructions. For them they are fossilized forms which lexicalized. In other words, verbs such as feed, give to drink, raise someone, and make someone confess, are lexical causatives in NMH.

(236)

a.

bubə ny (non- causative)

child grow.3S.PRES

‘The kid is growing.’

b.

en nyt:təm/ ny-tət-əm ə buba-t (causative)

I grow-CAUS-1S.PRES the child

‘I am bringing up the kid.’

(237)

a.

y mɛg dʒont, dʒon (non-causative)

she PREV confess.3S.PST confess.3S.PRES

‘She confessed, is confessing.’

b.

en mɛg dʒontot:olok⁴⁵ (causative)

I PREV confess.CAUS.1S.2S.PRES

I am making you confess

(238)

a.

ɔdot idʒik ɛ zyny-nɛk (non-causative)

give.3S.PST drink the cow-DAT

‘He was giving the cow water to drink.’

⁴⁵ The underlying form is dʒon-tot-olok.

b.

mɛg itɔt:ɔm⁴⁶ ɛ zyny-t (causative)

PREV drink-CAUS-PST-1S the cow-ACC

‘I gave water to the cow to drink.’

(239)

jart hoz:-am sɛ mɛg ɛbiltɛt:ɛm⁴⁷ (causative)

he.3S.PST ALL-1S and PREV eat.CAUS.PST.1S

‘He came to me and I fed them.’

4.11.3 The verbal suffix - *gɛt*

Another verbal suffix is the suffix *-gɛt/-gət*. It is added to the verb stem to denote an action which is done slowly with not too much intensity during a period of time. In some cases it can also mean that it was done repetitively. The meaning changes slightly depending on the type of verb it is attached to. After the suffix *-gɛt* is attached the verb behaves like any other verb, getting personal

⁴⁶ The underlying form is i-~~tɔt~~-t-ɔm.

⁴⁷ The underlying form is ɛbil-~~tɛt~~-t-ɛm.

marking and tense marking if needed as in (241) and (242). For example, in sentence (242) the - *get* suffix occurs after the derivatives (which in this case is the middle voice suffix -*kəz* and before the person marking. But this is not always the case. If the derivative suffix attached to the stem is the middle marker -*yd* then the - *get* suffix always gets attached immediately to the verb stem and the -*yd* marker follows the -*get* suffix, as illustrated in (243) below.

(240)

de y le yl tanaʃəl-gət

but she down sit.3S.PRES talk-INTS

‘But she just sits down and chats.’

(241)

sə fəl hagət odo, mənɛ-gət-ɛt, mənɛ-gət-ɛt

and up climb.3S.PST there, walk-INTS-3S.PST, walk-INTS-3S.PST

‘And he climbed up there, he walked and walked slowly.’

(242)

borotval-kəz-ik, borotval-kəz-gət

shave-MID-3S.PRES, shave-MID.3S.-INTS-PRES

‘He is shaving, he is shaving slowly.’

In conclusion, with the - *kəz* middle suffix, the frequentative -*gət/-gət* does occur after the derivatives, but it does not do so with the middle suffix -*yd*.

Compare sentences (242) and (243) respectively.

(243)

fysyl-gət-yd-ik kɛ nɔʃ ʎaɲ

comb-INTS-MID-3S.PRES because big girl

‘She is combing her hair slowly, because she is a big girl.’

In Standard Hungarian the -*gət* would come after the derivatives and before person marking, in contrast with what is observed in NMH.

The meaning of the suffix -*gət* depends on the type of verb that it attaches to. In most instances, the action the verb denotes is less intense when the -*gət* suffix is added to the verb. For example, when the suffix appears on verbs such as walk, eat, comb, dress, etc., which denote a dynamic activity which is usually

durative, the meaning changes from ‘combing one’s hair’ to ‘combing one’s hair in slow strokes and not too strong but on the surface, or ‘walking slowly’ etc.

The following sentences (a) illustrate the meaning without *-get*, and sentences (b) with the suffix *-get*. I will mark the suffix *-get* INTS, i.e. intensity marker.

(244)

a.

fysyl-yd-εm, ok:or hirtelen:εk

comb-MID-1S.PRES, then quickly

‘I am combing my hair, it means quickly.’

b.

fysyl-get-εm mεg ə hɔjɔmɔ-t

comb-INTS-1S.PRES PREV the hair-ACC

‘I am slowly combing my hair.’

(245)

a.

mos-ud-om

wash- MID-1S.PRES

‘I am washing myself.’

b.

mos-ud-gət-om

wash- MID-INTS-1S.PRES

‘I am washing myself a little, slowly.’

(246)

a.

vər sombət-rə vər vasarnəp-rə mən-ek ə mətuse-m-hez

or Saturday-SUB or Sunday-SUB go-1S.PRES the aunt-1S.POSS-ALL

‘Either Sunday or Saturday I am going to my aunt.’

b.

mən, mənə-geɪ lɒts:əʃkən

go.3S.PRES go-INTS.3S.PRES slowly

‘He is going slowly.’

(247)

a.

se εl iɣet ε zɛgis

and away burn.3S.PST the all

‘(the boy set fire to the haystack) and the whole thing burnt

b.

dzujt-od mɛg ε tɛtɛ-jit se iɣɛ-ɣet

light.2S.PRES PREV the top-3S.POSS and burn-INTS.3S.PRES

you light the top and it burns slowly.’

The suffix *-ɣet* can also attach to stative, durative verbs such as love, hate, sleep, etc. The meaning of the verbs without the suffix *-ɣet* is ‘love’, ‘hate’ and ‘sleep’, whereas the meaning of the verbs with the suffix is ‘love with lesser intensity’, ‘hate with lesser intensity’, and ‘doze off / sleep with lesser intensity’.

(248)

a.

seret-lək

like-1S.2S.PRES

‘I like you.’

b.

seret-get-lək

like-INTS-1S.2S.PRES

‘I like you a little.’

(249)

a.

dylyl:ək⁴⁸

hate-1S.2S.PRES

‘I hate you.’

⁴⁸ The underlying form is dylyl-lək.

b.

dylyl-gɛt-ɛm, nɛ mig las:əm⁴⁹

hate-INTS-1S.PRES, not see.SUBJ.1S.PRES

‘I hate him a little. I don’t want to see him.’

(250)

a.

ɔlɔd-na-m i ʃɛp:ɛt

sleep-OPT-1S a little

‘I would like to sleep a little.’

b.

bubɔ ɔlɔd-gət-ik

baby sleep-INST-3S.PRES

‘The baby is half asleep.’

Finally, when *-gɛt* attaches to punctual actions such as hit, shoot, sit, the meaning is also lesser intensity but also repetitively as illustrated in (251c) below.

⁴⁹ The underlying form is lat-j-əm.

(251)

a.

mɛg lyt:ɛm⁵⁰ i zɛmbɛr-t

PREV shoot.PST.1S a man

‘I shot a man.’

b.

ly-ɛgɛt ɪmpuʃkə ɪntʃɛt

shoot-INTS.3S.PRES shoot slowly (Romanian)

‘he shoots slowly’ (‘The word *lyɛgɛt* means he shoots slowly’)

In sentence (251b) the consultant explains that the NMH *lyɛgɛt* means to shoot slowly. *ɪmpuʃkə* and *ɪntʃɛt* are words in Romanian.

⁵⁰ The underlying form is *lyt-t-ɛm*.

c.

jet ly ok:or ɪmpuʃkat, jet ly-ɛget ok:or ly-ɛget,
 when shoot.3S.PRES then shoot, when shoot-INTS.3S.PRES then shoot-INTS.3S.PRES

lotsɔʃkan, dʒirən

slowly, rarely

‘When ly then you shoot, when lyɛget then slowly, rarely (meaning with intervals, one time and then a second time etc).’

(252)

a.

yt, yt-ɛget

hit, hit-INTS.3S.PRES

‘yt denotes a major hit or multiple times big ones; whereas, yteget can only denote multiple times, small ones.’

b.

yt-ɛget lotsɔʃkand

hit-INTS.3S.PRES slowly

‘He is hitting slowly.’

If the preverb *mεg* is added to verb the *yt* – ‘hit’ the meaning of the verb changes from ‘hit’ to ‘kill’ as illustrated in sentences (253), (254). As shown in (254) adding the suffix *-gεt* to the verb ‘kill’ does not have the meaning of ‘killing him slowly but ‘trying to kill him and being non successful.’

(253)

εz ə bolond yt mεg

this the crazy.man kill.3S.PRES PREV

‘This crazy man will kill me.’

(254)

mεg yteget:ε⁵¹ de nem ult urɔ mεg ys:ε⁵²

PREV kill.INTS.PST-3S.DEF but not be.3G.PST able PREV kill-SUBJ-3S.DEF

‘He tried to kill him but couldn’t kill him.’

Finally, in the subsequent discussion I explained that the participle of the verb is formed by taking the verbal stem and adding the suffix *-vε/-vɔ*. Here again the suffix *-gεt* is first attached to the stem and only then the adverbial participle suffix *-vε/-vɔ* is attached to it.

⁵¹ The underlying form is *yt-εget-t-ε*.

⁵² The underlying form is *yt-j-ε*.

(255)

fitʃer-geɪ-vɐ ɛ dʒɛrmɛk mɛnt ɛ mɛzy-rɛ

whistle-INTS-ADVP the boy go.3S.PST the field-SUB

‘Whistling the boy went to the field.’

(256)

en mɛg kɔp-t-əm ɛ mare-t kɔtə-geɪ-vɐ, kɔtə-gɔt vɔlɔ

I PREV knit-PST-1S the Mary-ACC knit-INT-ADVP, knit-INTS.3S.PRES be.3S.PST

a pullover-ACC

‘I found Mary knitting, she was knitting a pullover.’

As can be seen from the following two examples, group 3 verbs behave differently than group 1 and 2 verbs regarding frequentative formation. Verbs in group 3 have yet another verb stem when forming frequentatives with the suffix *-geɪt*.

Frequentatives of group 3 verbs:

(257)

lɛ tɛt:ɛm⁵³, tɛl:ɛgɛtɛm⁵⁴

down put.PST.1S, put.INTS.1S.PRES

‘I put it down. I am slowly putting it down.’

(258)

ɛl vɛt:ɛm⁵⁵, ɛl vɛl:ɛ-ɛt:ɛm

away take.PST.1S, away take-INTS-1S.PRES

‘I take it, I am slowly taking it.’

4.11.4 The Adverbial participle suffix *vɛ/vɔ*

The participle of the verb is formed by taking the verbal stem and adding the suffix *-vɛ/vɔ*. Here again vowel harmony is at work. For example, 3rd person singular indefinite of the verb to work is *dɔlgozik*. Hence, the stem of the verb is *dɔlgoz*. The participle form of the verb is *dɔlgozvɔ* as illustrated in (259).

⁵³ The underlying form is t t-t- m.

⁵⁴ The underlying form is tɛl:ɛ-get-ɛm.

⁵⁵ The underlying form is vɛt-t-ɛm.

(259)

zen pretʃinom sereti hɔlgəs:ɔ⁵⁶ ɛ zinekelɣ-t dolgoz-vɔ
 my friend-1S.POSS like.3S.PRES listen-SUBJ-3S the radio-ACC work-ADVP

‘My friend likes to listen to the radio when he is working.’

(260)

riu-vɔ bubɔ be jət: ə haz-bə
 cry-ADVP boy in come.3S.PST the house-ILLIN

‘The boy came into the house crying.’

(261)

ə bunika-m seret:ɛ ʃap:ənd⁵⁷ ɛbide-t inekɛl-vɛ
 The grandmother-1S.POSS like.3S.PST do-SUBJ-3S food-ACC sing-ADVP

‘My grandmother liked to cook singing.’

The adverbial participle in NMH has two main usages. The first usage is expressing a continuing action occurring at the time of another action, illustrated by the above-mentioned sentences. A second usage of the adverbial participle is to express a state or a condition of a particular participant in the sentence.

⁵⁶ The underlying form is hɔlgəs-j-ɔ.

⁵⁷ The underlying form is ʃan-j-ənd.

(262)

fəl vətkez-ve ə zɔdaje, sik-ɛk ə zɔstəl kørɪl
 up dress-ADVP the room, chair-PL the table around

‘The room was well-furnished, with benches and chairs around the table.’

(263)

ɛl mɔrɔtɔm mɛg mɛrɛd-ve
 away stay.1S.PST PREV freeze-ADVP

‘I stayed frozen.’

The adverbial participle can also form a construction using the copula ‘be’ preceding the adverbial participle, as illustrated below. This construction has sometimes a passive-like meaning.

(264)

kɛts:ɛr mɛg ult ly-ve
 twice PREV be.3S.PST shoot-ADVP

‘He was shot twice.’

(265)

zy sɛlɛtʃɛ ɛl vɔɔɔ ig-vɛ

his slice away be.3S.PRES ig-ADVP

‘His slice (of bread) is burnt.’

(266)

turu fɛl ult tɛ-vɛ zɔstɔl-rɔ

cheese up be.3S.PST put-ADVP table-SUB

‘The cheese was put on the table.’

Negation in Adverbial Participle constructions:

In neutral declarative sentences preverbs such as *mɛg*, *ɛl*, *lɛ*, *ki* etc, appear before the verb they accompany. Nevertheless, when negated, the position of the preverb changes. The preverb follows the verb.

In all the following sentences, even though the negative copula *nifɛn* or *nif* - ‘be’ are used, the preverb stays in its neutral position. In other words, it precedes the adverbial participle. Hence, even negation does not change the word order from neutral position to focused position, as the preverb follows the verb it is attached to.

Moreover, as can be seen from the examples, forming the negative in adverbial participles is not done by using the negative particle *nem/nε*, which precedes only verbs, but by using the present tense negative form of the copula *nif/nifεn* - ‘be’ preceding the adverbial participle form.

(267)

kert nif mεg kapal-və
garden be.NEG.3S.PRES PREV hoe-ADVP

‘The garden is unhoed.’

(268)

ε bubə moʃkos, nifεn mεg mos-vo
the baby dirty, be.NEG.3S.PRES PREV wash-ADVP

‘The baby is dirty, it is not washed.’

(269)

nifεn mεg mos-ud-və
be.NEG.3S.PRES PREV wash-MID-ADVP

‘He is not washed.’

mosvo is the adverbial participle form of the active form of the verb *mos-* ‘wash’; whereas *mosudvə* is the adverbial participle form of the middle form of the verb *mosudik* – ‘wash oneself’. Speakers use them interchangeably.

In conclusion, the adverbial participle form has some verbal status because it can take preverbs such as *meg*, *ki* etc., which only occur with verbs; however, it has an adverbial status as well, because it cannot really function as a verb, it does not inflect, it does not form negation like a verb does by using the negative particles *nem* or *ne* depending on their mood, but by using the negative form of the copula ‘be’. This is how negation is formed in verbless clauses such as existential constructions, possessive constructions, and locative constructions.

4.11.5 The Infinitive suffix *-ni*

In NMH the infinitive is formed by adding the ending *-ni* to the verb stem. The infinitive in NMH does not conjugate,⁵⁸ i.e. it does not take any personal marking.

⁵⁸ This fact is mentioned because in Hungarian the infinitive can conjugate.

verb stem	infinitive form
kosal 'mow'	kosalni 'to mow'
id 'drink'	idni 'to drink'
inəkəl 'sing'	inəkəlni 'to sing'
mēlēgit 'warm'	mēlēgetni 'to warm'

Table 62 Infinitive formation

The following sentences exemplify some of these forms in context.

(270)

en mən-ək kosal-ni trifuj-t

I go-1S.PRES mow-INF clove-ACC

'I'm going to mow clover.'

(271)

s utarə həbər-od ɛl is ʃep:et sə tēs-əd

and then stir-2S.PRES away too a.bit and put-2S.PRES

mēleg-it-ni

warm-V-INF

'And then you stir it a bit and you put it on to warm it.'

4.12 Word Order in NMH

In this section, I will discuss word order and main type of sentence structures. In NMH, all six orders of subject, object, and verb (SOV, OSV, SVO, OVS, VSO, and VOS) are grammatical. Although all six orders are possible and all occur fairly frequently, SVO predominates and is the neutral word order. The order of sentence constituents is contextually and grammatically complex. It is partially determined by the role a constituent plays in projecting certain information. Thus, word order is not a matter of stringing together parts of a sentence according to traditional categories of subject, object, and verb, but rather is a matter of ‘topic’ and ‘focus.’ A topic is information that is known or assumed and that sets the scene; in traditional terms, the subject could be the topic, but it might also be the verb, or the object, or other grammatical category. Focus refers to the new key information being conveyed about the topic, that is, what it is that is being essentially said about the topic. In NMH, topics come first in a sentence and constituents in focus come immediately before the verb. High

stress is associated with items in focus. Hence, the word order is pragmatically oriented with a special position for focused or emphasised constituents before the finite verb. The basic order of the sentence constituents is **topic + focus + finite verb + any other items**.

The neutral word order or sentence structure of NMH is SV (O) as illustrated below.

(272)

tyk ɔ̌tɔk ɛbidɛt ɛ zyny-nɛk
 you.PL give.2PL food-ACC the cow-DAT

‘You give lunch to the cow.’

The following is an example of an VS(O) word order.

(273)

ɛl jɔt i ʌɹɹ, tanaʃɔlnɛk sɛ kɛn-yd-nɛk
 away come.3S.PST a girl, talk.3PL and make.up-MID-3PL

‘A girl came, they are talking and they are doing make up.’

Moreover, if the object of the sentence precedes the verb, the speaker's conversational purpose is to put an emphasis on the object. In other words, it means 'It is cheese I saw put on the table' or 'it is Noam wine I like to drink.'

(274)

ʒu:ɔ turut latə:m fɛl tɛvɛ zɔstɔl-rɔ
 so.much cheese-ACC see.1S.PST up put.ADVP table-SUBL

'I saw so much cheese put on the table.'

(275)

noam bort sɛrɛtɛm iʒɔm
 noam wine-ACC like-1S.PST drink.1S

'I like to drink Noam wine.'

The following OVS word order also exemplifies the fact that the emphasis is put on the 'funeral feast'. FUNERAL FEASTS my husband does not like and I don't like them either.

(276)

praznik-ok-ot nɛm serɛti zɛmbɛr-ɛm ɛn sɛm sɛrɛtɛm

funeral.feast-PL-ACC not like.3S man-1POSS I either like.1S

‘My husband doesn't like funeral feasts and I don't like them either.’

The Subject/Topic position

The subject/topic position is usually at the beginning of the sentence and is filled with a subject or a previously referred expression. It may contain several constituents or may be empty. In other words, as the verb agrees in number with the subject, it is very common for the subject of the sentence to be omitted as illustrated below.

(277)

tɛt:ɛm murkuʃt, hɔjmat, fokojmat

put.1S.PST carrots.ACC, onion.ACC, garlic.ACC,

‘I planted carrots, onion, garlic.’

Any other item position

This position can be filled by the object of the sentence or any other part of speech such as a location, time, etc.

The Focus position - Verbal modifier position (VM)

The most common verbal modifiers are a well-defined closed set of verbal prefixes and prefix-like adverbs. The verbal prefixes or the so called preverbs occupy the position immediately before the conjugated verb. They fulfill a number of different semantic functions. The most common of these are aspectual, directional and derivational. Thus, in (279), for instance, the preverb *ε/* transforms the unbounded process of sleeping exemplified in (278) into the bounded event of falling asleep. In (281), the preverb *mεg* adds an element of completion to the event of eating which is not expressed in (280) without the preverb. In other words, in (280) the polenta was not totally eaten, whereas in (281) the cozonac was eaten to completion.

(278)

əlut:əm i ʃɛp:ɛt, ɔp:ɔ mɛpɛ, matsər nɛm ɔlsom di lok

sleep.1S.PST a little, too go.3S.SUBJ, sometimes not sleep.1S at all

‘I slept a little, which wasn’t too much; sometimes I don’t even sleep at all.’

(279)

ɛ tizenkɛ:ynil maj **ɛl** **əlut:əm**

the midnight somehow away sleep.1S.PST

‘I fell asleep at twelve.’

(280)

ɛsik i ʃɛp:ɛt ə mɔlega-bul mɛɬik-ɛt mɛg kɔptɔ ot

eat.3S a little the polenta-ELA which-ACC PREV find.3S.PST there

‘He eats a bit from the polenta which he found there.’

(281)

yk mɛg ɛsik vɔlɔ ə kozonakɪ-ət

they PREV eat.3S be.3S.PST the cozonac-ACC

mɛɣik-ɛt mɛg vetɛd ə tɔnɔp

which-ACC PREV buy.2S.PST the yesterday

dɛ niʃɛnd tɔb kɛ ɛl foʃɔt

but be.NEG.3S a.lot because away finish.3S.PST

‘They ate the cozonac that you bought yesterday but there is none left because it is gone.’

In addition to the aspectual effect, the preverbs in (282) and (283) also indicate the direction of the activity whether the goal argument is expressed or not. In these cases the selection of the prefix is determined by the nature of the explicit or implicit goal.

(282)

lɛ lɔktɔ zɔstɔl-rul ə kuf-it

down push.3S.PST table-DEL the cart-ACC

‘He pushed the little cart off of the table.’

(283)

josip ki lɔktɔ glud-bul ə kərutsa-t

Joseph out push.3S.PST mud-ELA the cart-ACC

‘Joseph pushed the cart out of the mud.’

Hence, many NMH verbs appear accompanied by a preverb, sometimes also referred to as ‘verbal modifier’ or verbal prefix. These are actually cover terms for a wide variety of constituents that can appear in the immediately preverbal position in neutral sentences, i.e., declarative sentences that don’t have a focused constituent or negation. Particles are the most common preverbs. They have mostly adverbial meanings, though some of them, such as the perfectiviser, are purely aspectual markers. Particles of the former group typically retain their directional/locative meaning, though in some cases they form an idiom in conjunction with their selecting verb.

The following table exemplifies the preverbs in NMH and some of their more common meanings.

Preverb	Meaning
lɛ	down
ki	out
ɛl	away
bɛ, bɛ	in
fɛl	up
mɛg	aspectual, successful completion of the event

Table 63 Examples of NMH Preverbs

In the absence of a preverb, other predicative elements may occur in the verb modifier/preverb position such as *hɔzɔ* in sentence (284) below. Although the database has shown that the word order in (284) is the most frequent one, examples of *hɔzɔ* following the verb in neutral sentences was also available, as illustrated in (285). However, in sentences containing a focused constituent or negation the preverb surfaces in a postverbal position, and can be separated from its selecting verb by other elements as illustrated in (286) and (288).

(284)

ʎaŋ **hɔzɔ** futɔt vɔkɔrɔdz-vɔ

girl home run.3S.PST scratch-ADVP

‘The girl ran home scratching.’

(285)

ʎaŋ futɔt **hɔzɔ** sə vɔkɔrɔdzɔt

girl run.3S.PST home and scratch.3S.PST

‘The girl ran home and scratched.’

(286)

adikə betɛget nɛm hoztatək **hɔzɔ** spital-bul?

that.is.to.say sick.S not bring.2PL home hospital-ELA

‘That is to say, did you bring the sick lady home from the hospital?’

(287)

*adikə betɛget nɛm **hɔzɔ** hoztatək spital-bul?

that.is.to.say sick.S not home bring.2PL hospital-ELA

‘That is to say, did you bring the sick lady home from the hospital?’

(288)

hul, nem jø **hɔzɔ** most is?

where, not come.3S home now too

‘Where is he, won’t he come home?’

(289)

*hul, nem **hɔzɔ** jø most is?

where, not home come.3S now too

‘Where is he, won’t he come home?’

Both the [V VM] and [VM V] word orders result in grammatical utterances.

The choice of these two word orders depends on whether the context is focused or not. The following lists are neither exhaustive nor exceptionless. The default property of arguments and adjuncts in a predication is to be focusable- they may occur in a focused configuration with [V VM] word order or in a non-focused configuration with [VM V] order depending on the communicative intentions of the speaker. In the latter case the argument or adjunct may precede or follow the [VM V] complex.

So, for example, the temporal adverb *tɔn:ɔp* ‘yesterday’ in sentences (290) and (291) is mentioned as one of possibly many days when the event could have occurred and the word order is neutral. However, when the temporal adverb is singled out as the only time of the event, then *tɔn:ɔp* appears left-adjacent to the verb, with the VM *ɛl* occupying a postverbal position as in (292).

(290)

tɔn:ɔp ʃantəm ɛbid-ɛt

yesterday make.1S.PST food-ACC

‘Yesterday I made food.’

(291)

en kapaltəm ə tɔn:ɔp

I hoe.1S.PST the yesterday

‘I hoed yesterday.’

(292)

nem ə tɔn:ɔp jət ɛl zəʃ-em, jø i het-rɛ

not the yesterday come.3S.PST away brother-1POSS, come.3S a week-SUBL

‘It wasn't yesterday that my brother came, he comes in a week.’

Obligatory focus contexts include propositional negation (294), propositional negation with a negative polarity item (295), imperative or subjunctive mood (297) and the presence of a [+f] expression, such as a negated constituent (298), and a question-word (299). Inherently [+f] phrases must appear in preverbal position. In my corpus, the most common focused expressions were question word phrases and *ʃɔk/tʃɔk-phrases* ‘just,only, a little’ as in (300) and (301) and universally quantified adverbs of frequency such *ørøki* –‘always’ as illustrated in (302) and (303).

In a neutral declarative sentence, the position of preverbs such as *meg*, *el*, *le*, *ki* etc, is before the verb they accompany, as shown in (293). Nevertheless, when negated, the position of the preverb changes. The preverb follows the verb as shown in (294).

(293)

tɔn:ɔp el jɔt ɛ miʃɛs

yesterday away come.3S.PST the neighbor

‘Yesterday the neighbor came.’

(294)

tɔn:ɔp miʃes nɛm jɔt ɛl

yesterday neighbor not come3S.PST away

‘Yesterday the neighbor did not come.’

(295)

mare nɛm sɔbɔt: mɛg senki-t

Mary not hit.3S.PST PREV not.who-ACC

‘Mary hasn’t hit anyone.’

(296)

ingɛmɛt ə mamə nɛm kyldɛt kapalni soho

I.ACC the mother not send.3S.PST hoe.INF never

‘Mother never sent me to work the field.’

(297)

rezul tɛt:ɛ hoʃ vagjə lɛ zɛgis trandafirt ɛ kɛrtbyl

king put.3S.PST that cut.3S.SUBJ down all rose-ACC the garden-ELA

‘The king made him cut all the roses in the garden.’

(298)

tɔn:ɔp [nɛm ɛ miʃɛs] jət ɛl, pretʃin jət

yesterday [not the neighbor] come.3S.PST away, friend come.3S.PST

‘Yesterday, it is not the neighbor that came but a friend.’

(299)

hul kɔplɔk mɛg

where find.1S PREV

‘Where will I find you?’

(300)

ʃɔk nəz be, fazik it

only look.3S in, cold.3S here

‘It is only looking inside, it is cold.’

(301)

ʃɔk ɛsɛl lɛ sɛ kis, hɔlts mɛg

only collapse down and finish, die.2S PREV

‘You just collapse and that’s it you die.’

(302)

yk ørøk:i dʒylkɛznək mɛg misɛ ɛlɛjibɛ

they always meet.3PL PREV church in.front

‘They always meet up in front of the church.’

(303)

hug-om ørøk:i sɔləs:ɔ lɛ ɛ farfure-k-ɛt

sister-1POSS always drop.3S down the plate-PL-ACC

sɛ romolnok ɛl sɛ sidʒɔ mamə tʃipi hɔja-t

and break.3PL away and telling.off.3S mother pull.3S hair-ACC

‘My sister always drops the plates and they all break and mother is telling her off and pulls her hair.’

Non-focus contexts

Non-focus contexts are those where no focussable expression appears in the slot that immediately precedes the [V, VM] complex, i.e., the inversion of the VM and the verb. Non-focus contexts are non-subjunctive, non-negative utterances where either no phonetic material precedes the [VM, V] complex

within the clause, or an inherently [-f] expression occupies the left-adjacent slot.

Examples of non-focus expressions include constituents modified by the inclusive particle (too) (304) and by complementizers (305).

(304)

est is εl verte zeg im:a mit mig ʃans

this too away hit.3S.PST ice, now what.ACC do.2S

‘This too was destroyed by the ice, what can you do.’

(305)

mert le tet:em rend-re,

because down put.3S.PST line-SUBL,

‘Because I layered them neatly,’

There is a strict word order within the NP. Determiners and demonstrative pronouns always precede the noun head, e.g., the determiner *ε* ‘the’ precedes the noun head *zirast* ‘letter.ACC’ and *εz ε λapəʃkə* ‘this girl.DIM’ (this little girl). Qualifiers like adjectives and participles within an NP occur after the determiners and demonstratives, but precede the noun, as in *i sip legiŋ* ‘a nice/handsome young man’. In conclusion, NMH shares some typological

characteristics of SOV languages (e.g. it is postpositional, the attribute precedes the noun, etc.), however, the most common word order found in the present database is SVO.

4.13 Conclusion

This chapter serves as a basic description of some of the more relevant language aspects of Northern Moldavian Hungarian. A description of NMH phonology, morphology and syntax was provided. This included a short summary of some phonetical aspects of NMH such as an inventory of its sound system, as well as some discussion on important phonological processes (assimilation and vowel harmony). Furthermore, different parts of speech, their functions and position in the phrase were discussed. In addition, word formation in NMH, especially derivational morphological processes for nouns, adjectives and verbs were introduced, as well as word order in NMH. Nevertheless, as this work deals with the middle voice system in NMH, information regarding the verb in NMH is of major importance. Hence, this chapter mainly focused on the

verbal paradigms of NMH, discussing also the notion of verb stem types, the tenses and the moods, the different personal endings of the verbs depending on the mood, tense, verbal stems, and the notion of definiteness. A special emphasis was given to verbal derivational morphology, as the middle formation is part of it. Moreover, the copula verb ‘be’ and all its variants was discussed in detail. Much more could have been written about NMH, but writing a grammar of NMH exceeds the purpose of this dissertation. Hence, I believe that the information given in this chapter suffices as an introduction to this language and its verbal morphology and will help the reader better understand the discussion in the subsequent chapters.

Chapter 5: Voice according to previous studies

5.0 Introduction

As the topic of this dissertation is the middle voice in NMH, this chapter primarily deals with the middle voice category. Before attempting to characterize the middle voice category in NMH, I will first consider the range of questions raised by contemporary theoretical linguists on voice phenomena and related issues. In recent years there has been a large body of studies on voice, transitivity, and semantic/thematic roles. In these studies, terms such as middle, middle voice and middle construction are used by linguists from widely divergent backgrounds to discuss a range of clearly distinct phenomena. The term “middle” has received increasing attention since first coined by Oxford English Dictionary (1921:5521) to depict an inflectional category four Modern Greek. This subject of “middle” and “middle domain” has been studied from functional, typological, cognitive perspectives, and formal syntactic studies, such as Faltz (1985), Frajzyngier and Traci (eds, 1999 a, b), Givon (1994),

Geniusiene (1987), Haiman (1983, 1985) Kemmer (1993), Lakoff (1977), Langacker (1987, 1991), Maldonado (1992, 1999, 2007), Manney (2000), Shibatani (1998, 2003, 2006), and Manzini (1986) using government-binding theory.

Hence, in this chapter I attempt to show the most common usages of these terms in some studies and clarify the way these notions will be used in the current study.

5.1 The term MIDDLE

5.1.1 Terminology issues

The term “middle voice” is best known in the tradition of classical Indo-European languages such as Ancient Greek and Sanskrit, where the category of morphological middle is fully developed. However, there is some confusion with the terminology in the Greek grammatical tradition. What is referred to by the term “middle” by modern grammarians does not straightforwardly correspond to

the category designated by the original Greek term *mesotes* in Dionysius Thrax's grammar.

What is now called middle, the third voice category of *mesotes* recognized by Dionysius, was designated by the term *pathos* by Dionysius, who recognized three voices or diatheses.

(306) (cited from Shibatani: 2012)

- a. *tupto* (*energeia* 'Active') 'I strike.'
- b. *tuptomai* (*pathos* 'Passive') 'I am struck.'
- c. *pepega* (*mesotes* 'Middle') 'I am fixed to the spot.'
- d. *epoiesamen* (*mesotes* 'Middle') 'I had (something) made.'

The third voice category of *mesotes* recognized by Dionysius does not correspond to what is known as middle in the modern terminology. Dionysius's *mesotes* category, as illustrated in (272c, d) above contains forms that are in fact inflected for either *energeia* or *pathos*, rather than having its own inflection. The forms such as *pepega* 'I am fixed to the spot' and *diephthora* 'I am ruined'

inflect for *energeia*. Their meanings represent the “passivity” of other pathos forms. However, such forms as *epoiesmane* ‘I made for myself’ and *egrapsamen* ‘I wrote down for my own benefit’, show the pathos inflection, and they express activities characteristic of other *energeia* forms.

Dionysius’s *pathos* category expresses a wider range of meanings than the passive in modern European languages. Also in Ancient Greek there is a distinct category in the future and the aorist tense involving the suffix *-(th)e* that serves the passive function. This might be one of the reasons why Indoeuropeanists decided to assign the term “middle” to what corresponds to Dionysius’s *pathos* category and “active” to the *energeia* category as the two voice inflectional categories of Ancient Greek, Sanskrit and others. Since this decision is based on a formal ground (i.e., on the inflectional form), what corresponds to Dionysius’s *mesotes* form is now classifiable either as active or middle depending strictly on its formal inflectional property. However, those middle forms with an active meaning have been specifically designated as “deponents”, as in the case of

Latin *-r* forms with active meaning. The following table illustrates Andersen's (1989) summary of the correspondences between Dionysius's categories, their translations, and the modern terms.

Category	Translation	Modern term	= Form + Meaning
ene'rgeia	Active	Active	Active Active
pa'thos	Passive	Middle	Middle Middle
meso'tes	Middle	-----	Active Middle
meso'tes	Middle	Deponent	Middle Activ

Table 64 Correspondence between Dionysius's categories, translations and the modern terms

In this work I follow the modern terms. My primary concern is the semantics of the middle voice category and its formal expressions.

5.1.2 The term middle as used in Modern Linguistics

In modern linguistics, the term middle has been used to talk about one or more of the following phenomena: a) a verbal inflectional class whose members contrast both morpho-syntactically and semantically with the members of the

active inflectional classes (Klaiman 1991, Andersen 1991, 1994, Manney 1992),
 b) a semantic domain which can be expressed by morphosyntactic devices, which in some cases is the form of the primary reflexive strategy (Kemmer 1993) or c) the derived member of a pair which typically occurs in a type of transitivity alternation (Grimshaw 1982, Fagan 1992). Middle verbs in all the three senses mentioned above were the focus of numerous studies utilizing a variety of theoretical approaches to analyze the relevant data. The following are the most common usages of the term middle in recent linguistic research.

Klaiman (1992) proposes a three-way classification of the middle using both semantic and morpho-syntactic criteria such as: generic middle, reflexive middle, and verbal inflectional category, opposed both formally and functionally to an active inflectional category.

The generic middle is an intransitive construction which encodes a situation rather than a specific event. It has a patient as a subject, and alternates in most cases with a transitive counterpart whose direct object corresponds to the subject

of the generic middle construction. The reflexive middle is defined as the combination of a reflexive morpheme and an active inflected verb. However, Klaiman mentions that this reflexive middle can encode a large variety of other semantic functions which are the ones studied in great detail in Kemmer 1993. Klaiman's example of such a construction is the Spanish sentence "*Juan se levanta*" / *Juan gets up*. Thus, in her typological work, Klaiman identifies three different senses of the use of the term middle according to semantic criteria, namely the generic middle or morpho-syntactic criteria, i.e. the middle reflexive and the inflectional middle.

One important work dealing with the middle voice as a typological phenomenon is Kemmer's 1993 work. Kemmer (1993) views middle voice as a semantic domain realized by any one of a number of distinct morphosyntactic devices, including verbal inflection. She maintains that middle voice is a crosslinguistic semantic phenomenon which represents an extended value of the active system. Moreover, she claims that the middle inflection typically encodes

an event with an agent-like subject, while others such as Andersen (1991, 1994) argue that middle inflected verbs function to encode agentless events.

Klaiman (1991) also characterizes the range of possibilities for encoding grammatical voice across languages. Grammatical voice is a verbal category which includes the subcategories of derived voice, pragmatic voice, and basic voice, with Ancient Greek and Sanskrit displaying a basic voice system, in that both active and middle voice inflections are basic verbal categories. This means that neither derives from each other.

This is why in such systems voice inflection functions primarily to encode alternations in the participant role of the argument that occurs in subject position. Hence, the subject role in a middle voice construction needs to be characterized. Klaiman makes a distinction between actor and controller, with the actor being the source of the action depicted by the verb and controller being the entity which determines the course of the action. In the middle voice system of Indo-European languages, the actor correlated partially with the controller; hence, the

primary function of the middle voice is to mark an identity between the source of the action and the entity principally affected. Furthermore, the middle voice extends to depict also situations in which the affected subject of a verb is distinct from the actor. This extended meaning constitutes the passive function of the middle voice inflection. An example that she provides is of a change of state with no explicit encoded agent in Sanskrit, “the stick bends”. According to Klaiman, the absence of agency is an extended meaning of the middle voice system and not its basic value as other linguists have claimed.

Like Klaiman, Kemmer (1993) defines middle voice as both a semantic domain and a formal category. When characterizing the central core of the semantic domain of middle voice, Kemmer (1993) cites Lyon (1969) and says that it is an action or state affecting the subject of the verb or his interests. Kemmer’s definition resonates with other traditional descriptions of middle voice such as Benveniste who says that the subject is inside the process of which he is the agent (1950:149) or Smyth (1956) who claims that the middle voice shows

that the action is performed with special reference to the subject. Unlike Klaiman, Kemmer proposes a close relationship between middle and reflexive semantics describing the differences between prototypical middle and reflexive situation types. The prototypical middle situation type, according to Kemmer, designates an event in which an agent subject is involved in bodily action, like the Romanian *se imbraca* 'to get dressed'. A prototypical reflexive event type on the other hand, involves a simple clause that expresses a two participant predication in which the agent-like and the patient-like entities are coreferent, i.e., *Mary stabbed herself* (Kemmer 1993:42). According to Kemmer, a prototypical middle and a prototypical reflexive situation differ along the semantic parameter of distinguishability between Initiator/Agent and the Endpoint/Patient of the action. This distinguishability principle is viewed as a special case of the semantic notion of relative elaboration of events. Namely, Kemmer argues that the reflexive/middle semantic domain is situated on a transitivity scale in between a prototypical active/transitive event (such as *hit*)

and at the other end of prototypical intransitive event, which Kemmer exemplifies using the English verb *go*.

Hence, Kemmer (1993) distinguishes reflexive events from middle events, although these two categories are assumed to form a continuum as shown in Figure 2.

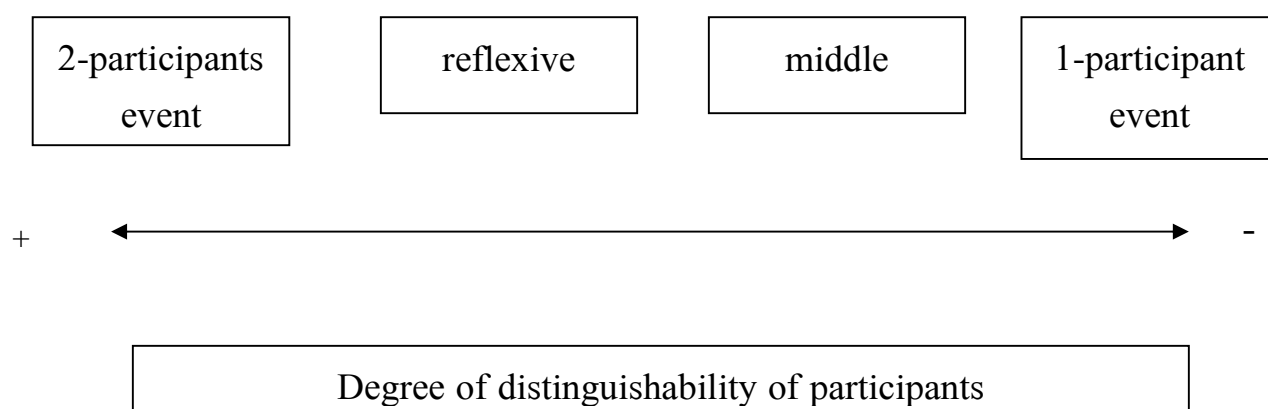


Figure 2 Kemmer's classification of event types (Kemmer 1993:73)

However, I will follow Shibatani (2006) under whose approach Kemmer's reflexive, middle, and single participant situation types, all fall in the middle domain. This point will be further explained in section 5.3.

Finally, Kemmer (1993), Faltz (1985), and many others see middle marking as evolving from reflexive constructions. In many Indo-European Languages,

this path of development is true and easily traceable. However, Manney (2000) and Maldonado (2007) argue against this kind of approach. Manney (2000) claims that Modern Greek inflectional middle system differs markedly from the middle reflexive system found in language families such as Modern Romance. In Modern Greek, the primary reflexive strategy which utilizes a form of the head noun and the middle voice inflectional system, which comprises a major verbal paradigm, are unrelated both diachronically and synchronically. Maldonado (2007) clearly shows that the Middle voice constitutes a category on its own and can even operate as the base form for other voice patterns. He brings examples from unrelated languages such as languages of Mexico and South America. He even shows that, for Spanish, the existence of a middle system provides a coherent representation which helps to capture a variety of usages that have been considered exceptional and were only in the best scenario represented in the lexicon.

In conclusion, this discussion has briefly summarized the key points of recent typological studies on middle voice. Klaiman (1988, 1991) and Kemmer (1993) both maintain that the middle voice is a morphosyntactic category which serves to encode the notion of subject affectedness. Kemmer and Klaiman as opposed to Andersen, claim that a basic function of middle voice is to encode events with a volitional agent-like subject. Especially, Kemmer is the one that claims that the middle voice is a semantic domain located in the center of an active continuum, the endpoints of which are the one-participant active intransitive events and the two participant active transitive event. Klaiman on the other hand maintains that neither active voice nor middle voice is derived one from the other.

5.2 The term MIDDLE REFLEXIVE

The term middle reflexive or reflexive middle was used as early as Kühner (1872) who divided it into indirect reflexive middle and direct reflexive middle. According to Kühner, the indirect reflexive middle denotes an action which the subject performs upon an object within its own sphere, i.e., upon an

object belonging to the subject, connected with it, or standing in any near relation to it; in contrast, a direct reflexive middle denotes an action which the subject performs immediately on itself, so that the subject is at the same time the object of the action. Moreover, the direct reflexive middle is said to occur much more seldom and to be far more frequently conveyed by the active and a reflexive pronoun.

In contemporary research, the term middle reflexive is used to designate a type of construction comprising a bound or unbound reflexive morpheme and an active inflected verb. I will briefly review a small representative sample of research on the middle reflexive illustrating the variety of theoretical approaches used to explain its distribution. Some studies use this term as a formal syntactic device to formulate rules that account in particular for reflexive morphology, including impersonal constructions, the unaccusative, the middle (or the so called generic middle) and the passive. Secondly, some cognitive /functional and/or typological approaches are presented. These studies analyze a wider range of

attested middle reflexive constructions, including transitive and intransitive types. The formal studies of middle reflexives differ with respect to two points. The first point is concerned with the type of structural element which the reflexive morpheme is claimed to instantiate. The second point is whether the middle reflexive construction is analyzed as the result of a syntactic or lexical process. They all try to refine various components of particular grammatical machinery in order to derive correctly a subset of common reflexive structures.

An alternative approach to analyzing the middle reflexive is advocated by Geniusiene (1987), Maldonado (1992), and many others. They provide a comprehensive description of the variety of instantiations of the middle reflexive in a given language (Lithuanian, Latvian and Russian for Geniusiene and Spanish for Maldonado). They then both attempt a theoretical characterization of the entire range of the attested usages of the middle reflexive, typological in the case of Geniusiene and cognitive in the case of Maldonado. Moreover, both Geniusiene and Maldonado treat the middle reflexive as a large set of related

construction types which are located on a semantic continuum, and not as the formal theories that result from separate and distinct lexical or syntactic processes. According to Geniusiene, the reflexive marker is a semantically meaningful element which typically reduces the valency of a verbal predication.

Her main focus is to provide an accurate and thorough description of all the possible derivative meanings of the reflexive constructions, as reciprocals, inchoatives, passives, generic middles, inherent reflexives, lexical converse, agent oriented action etc. In his work Maldonado (1992) considers a large set of middle reflexive constructions in Spanish such as passive, impersonal, generic middles, true reflexives, benefactive-like use of *se*, the emphatic function of *se* etc. In Maldonado (1992), he makes **two major theoretical claims**: a) the middle *se* and the reflexive *se* occupy two extremes of a semantic continuum that signals distinguishability of participants. In his attempt to analyze Spanish *se* as a unified semantic category, he claims that middle *se* designates a low degree of distinguishability while reflexive *se* higher degree of distinguishability, and b)

that the various uses of Spanish middle reflexive encompass a semantically defined morphosyntactic category, which he names *the middle domain*.

According to Maldonado, the primary function of the middle domain is to express a given event midway on the continuum of transitivity. Depending on the type of event, the function of the *se* marker is different. If one compares it with a prototypical transitive event, the function of the *se* marker is to show a reduction in the degree of control exercised by an agent, or the degree of separability between the subject and the object, and in the case of the prototypical intransitive event *se* marks an increase in the subject's level of involvement in the process designated by the verb. The benefactive middle is one such construction which occurs in morphosyntactically transitive clauses but which is still claimed by Maldonado to depict reduced transitivity. The benefactive middle constructions depict situations which typically involve or affect the subject to a greater degree than their non-reflexive counterparts. These constructions have two participants in the event. However, the second participant is situated within the abstract

dominion of the entity designated as the subject, resulting in a reduction of the degree of separability between the two participants.

(Maldonado 1992:151)

(307)

Dona Maru guardo el cambio [active]

‘Dona Maru kept the change’

(308)

Dona Maru se guardo el cambio [middle]

‘Dona Maru kept the change’ (in her pocket)

According to Maldonado, the active construal implies that the object could have been kept in the drawer or in the subject’s pocket, basically anywhere, whereas in the middle construction, only the reading involving the most proximal container (one’s pocket) is possible.

Finally, in the case of the middle reflexive constructions which depict increased transitivity as compared to their non-reflexive counterparts, Maldonado introduces the notion of **dynamicity**. He claims that the notion of dynamicity is

invoked to characterize the subject's increased level of participation in the event designated by the middle reflexive verb. These are cases in which *se* imposes an emphatic reading on the designated event or cases in which *the se* invokes a reading in which the event designated by the verb runs counter to normal expectations, as illustrated in (274) and (275) respectively.

Madonado (1992:371)

(309)

a.

Sin mayor conflicto, Juan (*se) decidió cambiar de trabajo.

‘without major conflict, J. decided to change his job.’

b.

Con muchas dudas y después de mucho pensarlo, Juan se (*Ø) decidió a cambiar de trabajo

‘with a lot of doubts and after thinking about it for a long time, Juan made up his mind to change his job.’

Thus, in the case of *decidirse*, the subject undergoes an internal conflict, whereas in the case of (274a), Juan undergoes a mental change of state without facing any intellectual obstacle.

Maldonado (1992:317)

(310)

a.

En el otoño las hojas caen de los árboles

‘In autumn the leaves fall from the trees.’

b.

De pronto las hojas se cayeron de los árboles

‘Suddenly the leaves fell down from the trees.’

Here again, in (275a) a neutral description of the downward motion is given, whereas in (275b), the conceptualizer’s viewpoint is incorporated in such a way that the event is seen as out of the ordinary.

In conclusion, Maldonado (1992) proposes a unified characterization of all the *se* constructions such as generic middles, passives, reflexives, reciprocals,

and impersonals. The function of the *se* construction is a semantic category which serves to reduce transitivity of the highly transitive events and to increase the transitivity of highly intransitive events.

5.3 The present approach to middle voice in NMH

Based on Shibatani (2006) and Shibatani and Artawa (2003), voice is understood in this dissertation as the pattern of the form-function correlation along the parameters pertaining to the evolutionary properties of an action. Different voice categories correspond to different conceptualizations of how an action evolves. Thus, there are marked voice categories pertaining to the origin of the action (spontaneous, passive, causative), the nature of the development of an action (middle, antipassive), and the termination of an action (applicative, external possession). In this framework, the action is conceived in a broad sense: it includes also non-volitional processes and the agent is an initiator of such processes and hence, it can be also a non-volitional, inanimate entity (some call it

an actor). This dissertation is concerned with the voice pertaining to the development of the action, the middle.

The active voice contrasts with the middle voice in terms of the nature of the development of an action. In the middle voice, the development of an action is confined within the agent's sphere so that the action's effect accrues back on the agent itself. This definition of the middle voice resonates with its traditional descriptions, Benveniste, Symth (1956), Barber (1975), Klaiman (1988, 1991, 1992) and Kemmer (1993). As already mentioned, the most studied middle voice include those of Indo-European languages like Ancient Greek and Sanskrit, in which the characteristic voice alternation is active/middle rather than active/passive (Lyon 1968, Barber 1975, Klaiman 1991).

Ancient Greek (Barber 1975:19 cited from Nagaya 2007)

(311)

a.

lou-o ta himatia

wash-act the cloaks

‘I wash the cloaks’ [active]

b.

lou-omai

wash-MID (1sg)

‘I wash myself’ [middle]

Sanskrit (Klaiman 1991:93)

(312)

a.

so namati dandam

he-NOM bends-3SG stick-ACC

‘He bends the stick’ [active]

b.

namate

dandah

bends-3S

stick-NOM

‘The stick bends’ [middle]

Middle situations can be marked morphologically, as illustrated in the Ancient Greek and Sanskrit examples above, and lexically and periphrastically, as illustrated in the following English examples.

English (Haiman 1983:803 cited from Nagaya 2007)

- Max washed
- Max kicked himself

The active and middle situations can be represented as in Figure 3 adopted from Shibatani 2006.

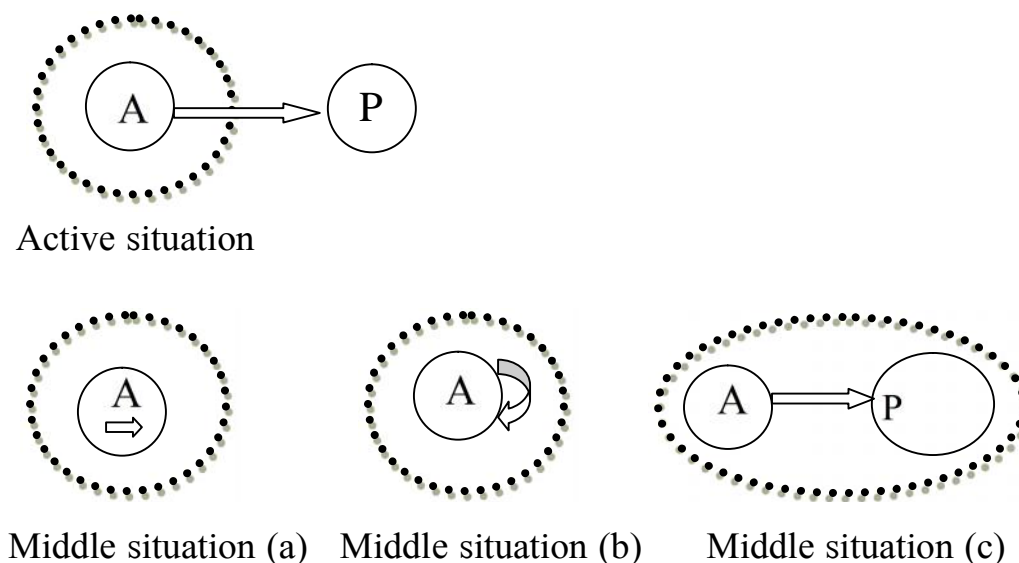


Figure 3 Active and Middle situations (Shibatani 2006)

The arrow indicates the development of an action, a dotted circle is an agent's personal sphere, "A" refers to the agent, and a "P" to the patient. In active situations, both agent and patient are salient. In the non-active situation, the middle, there is no affected patient distinctly delineated from the agent, and the agent is the only salient participant. In the case of the middle voice there is an existing patient outside the agent's personal sphere. There are three types of

middle situations: (a) an action may happen inside the agent itself, (b) be reflected on the agent (c) or carried out toward a patient which is coreferential with the agent (reflexives, reciprocals).

Reciprocals and inchoatives and spontaneous events are considered to be part of the middle voice. The inchoative, which expresses a change of state, also goes into a middle category, in the sense that the agent undergoes a change of state within its personal sphere and the agent itself is affected by the process. These are examples such as, the Romanian *Masina s-a oprit* (the car middle marker stopped), *The lid broke* etc.

Moreover, I adopt Shibatani (2006) approach to view reflexives as part of the middle domain and not as a separate category as Kemmer (1993) does. It seems only logical to consider reflexives as a middle action type since the action type is also confined in the subject's personal sphere. The main reason why Kemmer (1993) distinguishes reflexive situations from middle situations seems to be partially based on the typical forms used to express them. Reflexive situations

tend to be expressed periphrastically as in ‘hit oneself’, and Kemmer’s typical middle situations are expressed morphologically as in ‘shave’, and single participant situations tend to be expressed without any middle markers, i.e., lexically. Hence, Kemmer’s form-based approach to the middle focuses on morphological middles ignoring other possible types. The active/middle opposition typically involves lexicalization of basic situations which are considered usually to be normal states of affairs i.e., which are normally achieved within the agent’s domain. These are actions such as running, crying etc. Namely, usually these kinds of actions receive lexicalization as basic middle verbs. While marked situations are expressed morphologically or through the syntax. In other words, a middle situation in which a transitive action is confined within the agent’s sphere rather than extending to another party typically results in a middle construction which is marked relative to the active voice be it with a morphological middle marker or a middle pronoun/anaphoric operator.

The present study deals with the Middle voice of NMH including morphological, middle and lexical middles. Chapter six takes a close look at several middle situations expressed by middle markers, such as grooming, change in body posture, translation and non-translational situations, emotional, inchoative, and reciprocal situations, etc. It also discusses syntactic and lexical middles. Chapters 7 and 8 introduce in more detail the reflexive middle and reciprocal middle situations. In these chapters another concept will be shown to be of relevance when talking about NMH middle voice, the distinction of “introverted verbs” and “extroverted verbs” introduced by Haiman. Introverted verbs refer to actions which one generally performs upon one’s self, and extroverted verbs refer to actions which the subject usually performs towards others. So for example, Haiman gives an example of Russian in which there are two middle markers, the reflexive pronoun *sebja* and the verb suffix *-sja*. She provides examples showing that extroverted verbs can only use the reflexive pronoun *sebja*, whereas introverted verbs can use the verb suffix *-sja* and in

cases in which the patient is in contrastive focus it can also use the reflexive pronoun *sebja*. The situation in NMH is not as rigid as Haiman claims it to be for Russian but, I will show that this distinction between introverted and extroverted verbs plays an important role in the NMH middle voice as well, mostly when talking about the difference between syntactic vs. morphological reflexives and reciprocals.

In conclusion, this study treats voice as a grammatical category pertaining to the evolutionary properties of an action. Voice is a system of correspondences between an action or event type and syntactic structure. So for example, active voice is the correspondence between high transitive event types and nominative-accusative marking.

Chapter 6: Voice in NMH

6.0 Introduction

The present chapter serves as a jumping board to the fine grained analysis of specific middle voice constructions in NMH provided in chapters 7 and 8. Using Kemmer's classification of the middle situation types, chapter 6 introduces the reader to the middle voice situation types in NMH. Kemmer's classification has been chosen because of its semantic coherency; its suitability for crosslinguistic comparison of morphological middles, and finally because of its important predications about the diachronic spread of middle marking. Hence, this chapter carefully, describes the way grammatical constructions i.e. morphological, syntactical, and lexical constructions are encoded in NMH. The usage of Middle markers in NMH ranges from clearly lexically⁵⁹ determined uses to what are traditionally thought of as syntactic processes such as the passive like uses. Syntactic accounts have been offered for the appearance of middle markers on

⁵⁹ By lexically determined uses I mean cases such as 'crawl' is middle marked whereas 'bend' is not or 'be happy' is middle marked but not 'be sad'.

verbs designating the various types of body actions, indirect middle events, reciprocal events, emotional middle, and spontaneous events. So for example to derive the French Middle marked verbs (the reflexive type), Grimshaw posits a rule called 'reflexivization' which turns an ordinary transitive verb into a reflexive middle marked verb by acquiring the second of its two arguments to be 'bound' to the first one when they refer to the same entity. The second argument which corresponds to the object is deleted in the process of reflexivization. Hence, for generative accounts, the center of interest in Middle constructions is in the correspondences between unmarked transitive root verbs and their middle marked counterpart observing the different kind of relations between the two types of verbs and also posing a set of rules to derive the middle marked verb from the corresponding transitive root verb. My account of the middles in NMH although slightly dealing with the active vs. the middle marked verb, mainly places an emphasis on the semantic aspect examining when relevant the differences in the meaning between the active situation type and the middle

situation type. Moreover, the approach presented in this paper stresses the importance of the semantic aspect of the related multiple uses of a single form, i.e. it attempts to deal with the polysemy issue, rather than the syntactic correlations that result from it.

In this chapter each middle situation type and the semantic relations among the various situation types identified as relevant to the middle domain such as the volitionality of the initiator, the affectedness of the initiator and the confinement of the action in the agent's own sphere will be under discussion. Thus, the various domains referred to in the present chapter and the subsequent chapters are groups of situation types which share salient semantic properties.

In the case of syntactic/periphrastic middles this chapter will only present the different ways NMH expresses such constructions.

A fine analysis of these constructions will be discussed in chapters 7 and 8 dealing with reflexive middles and reciprocal middles. In the case of syntactic middles the difference in their meaning and function based also on frequency

will be discussed. One will not only look at the differences between the syntactic middles themselves, but also compare them with the morphological middles available to express the same meaning. Lexical middles⁶⁰ in NMH will be introduced according to the different semantic classes that they cover in NMH. Finally, in case of the morphological constructions their relation of polysemy is discussed. Since *kɛd/kɛz*, *ud/yd* and *ul/yl* are polysemous morphemes and their various usages are relatable to a central or prototypical function, their meaning represents a ‘radial category’ in the sense of Lakoff (1987) or a ‘polysemy network’ in Langacker’s terms (1987, 1988). Thus, the ultimate goal of this paper is to provide a coherent semantic mapping of the semantic relations among middle and other situation types in NMH especially examining the polysemy structures against the background of a common semantic map derived on the basis of cross linguistic investigation of a given grammatical domain. Finally this

⁶⁰ In NMH middle verb forms usually tend to have corresponding unmarked forms. However, there are middle marked verb classes whose verbs do not generally have corresponding unmarked transitive verbs which I will term deponents.

kind of mapping can allow a convenient comparison of the middle marking across languages.

6.1 Morphological middles in NMH – middle situation types and their distribution

As already mentioned in chapter 4, NMH has three middle markers *a) -yl/-ul*, *b) -yd/-ud/-od/-ed*, and *c) -kəz/-koz/-kəz/-køz* or *-kəd/-kəd*. The way these suffixes are formed and attached to the verbs or other parts of speech was presented in sections 4.12.1. I have shown that these middle suffixes can attach to different parts of speech such as adjectives, nouns and verbs⁶¹. For example, the fact that the suffix *-yl/-ul* most frequently attaches to adjectives was pinpointed. Nevertheless, there are verbs that could be found with these middle suffix and adjectives that were found with other middle suffixes. Also the suffix *-ud/-yd* which mostly occurs with verbs has been found with adjectives. Hence, one cannot make a generalization of their functions by looking at the parts of

⁶¹ *veres-yl* – (ADJ-MID) ‘gets red’ *tørvep-kəd-et* (N-MID-3S) – ‘takes legal action’, *mutal-udik* (V-MID) ‘moves’

speech themselves. In other words, there is no one to one correspondence between a particular suffix and a particular part of speech.

Thus, in order to find a generalization of their functions one could tackle the problem from at least two different perspectives. One angle would be to check if one can come up with a semantic classification of the middle suffixes by looking at the semantic of the verbs or adjectives the suffix attaches to. Another angle would be to look at the constructions as a whole and so predict which suffix can appear in which type of construction. After a thorough analysis of my data, I can conclude that one cannot make a generalization regarding the functions of the middle suffixes according to the semantics of the parts of speech attached to them because of a couple of reasons. One reason is that a lot of cases in which the same verb can take more than one suffix were found. After analyzing these cases one can conclude that depending on the type of suffix the same verb took, the verb changed its meaning even if only slightly. This shows the meaning of the functions of the middle constructions cannot be predicted based on the

semantic of the verbs themselves. These examples will be discussed in much more detail in section 6.2.

Secondly, it was impossible to find a valid generalization as to the semantic classes of the verbs taking a particular suffix. For example, emotion verbs such as crying, morning as well as body action verbs such as washing, combing take the same suffix *-ud/yd* to form a middle construction. Moreover, examples of movement verbs that took the *ud/yd* middle suffix and others that took the *kɛd* middle suffix, *mutal-udik* – ‘move oneself’ and *huzɔ-kɔdik* – ‘crawl’ respectively were present in the database. Hence, the best way to look at this is to analyze the constructions as a whole, looking at the situation types expressed by middle morphology and provide a precise semantic characterization of these situation types. Indeed, many of the situation types associated with middle morphology represent specific semantic classes of verbs.

Hence, the present chapter and the subsequent ones look far beyond the relation between active and middle verbs, far beyond the notion of the verb per

se. The main purpose is to characterize the middle situation types in NMH placing an emphasis on the semantic aspects of the related multiple uses of a single form, attempting to finally identify the semantic domain covered by the middle voice in NMH.

The following table is the classification of the situation types marked with middle morphology in NMH.

middle suffix function	yl/ul	ud	køz	kəd
Reflexive		√	√	√
Reciprocal		√	√	√
Spontaneous	√most frequent	√few examples		√ few examples
Emotion		√		
Impersonal		√		
internal processes (think, learn, wait)			√	√
Movement/motion middle		√		√

Table 65 The classification of the functions of the NMH middle suffixes

In NMH the middle suffixes expresses a variety of middle situation types such as reflexive middles, reciprocal middles, movement middles, impersonal middles, spontaneous middle constructions, experiencer construction,

constructions expressing internal processes (mental/cognitive) etc. These situation types can be divided into two main types. One in which the subject of the sentence is also the agent of the action which usually involves intentionality of the agent. This type includes the reflexive, reciprocals and movement constructions. A second type is the one in which the subject is an experiencer or in which the subject is not taken to be the initiator of the action or actively responsible for the action expressed by the verb or the subject is not even present in the sentence. This type includes the impersonal constructions, the spontaneous constructions and experiencer constructions, internal process.

6.1.1 Reflexive middle constructions

As already mentioned in chapter 5 following Shibatani (2006) I consider reflexive situation types to be middles. Hence, both the so called direct reflexives (Kemmer 1993) and the body action situation types are treated in this paper as part of the same group. Thus, what I call reflexive middle situation types are constructions in which the subject of the sentence is seen as both the Agent and

the Patient of the action. In other words, the subject of the sentence is causing himself to be in a particular state or better said to undergo a particular change.

One could put it otherwise and say that the action or the process that the verb of the sentence expresses is confined in the subject's sphere of control. So, if someone 'washes oneself', 'dresses oneself', 'kills oneself', and 'sees oneself in the mirror' the construction is a reflexive middle construction. Thus, in the reflexive middle constructions a variety of verbs can occur such as grooming verbs, body care verbs, action verbs such as 'kill oneself', 'look at oneself', speech verbs such as 'ask oneself', 'brag about oneself'. Examples of this type are presented below.

(313)

most	mos:-udik	səpən-vəl
now	wash-MID.3S	soap-INST

'Now she washes herself with soap.'

(314)

fysyl-ydik ə ʎan (kɛ-jøn:øk-østɛɛ-ɛ-lɛɡinɛk-sɛ-lɛʝik-sip) -

comb-MID.3S the girl

‘The girl is combing herself because the boys are coming in the evening and she wants to be pretty.’

(315)

y nəz-ydik ə zoglinda-bə

he look-MID.3S the mirror-ILLIN

‘He looks at himself in the mirror.’

Until now only verbs with the middle suffix attached to them forming reflexive middle constructions were observed. The following two examples are adjectives to which the middle suffix *-yd* and *-kɛd* are attached respectively. As already discussed in section 4.12.1 adjectives most frequently take the *-yl/-ul* middle suffix. However, if adjectives take the *-kɛd* or the *-yd/-ud* middle suffix then they have a reflexive meaning, for example ‘he made himself busy’ and ‘the baby dirtied himself’, as illustrated below.

syntactic reflexive; is there a change in the meaning the constructions express or is the usage interchangeable and much more.

6.1.2 Movement middles

This set of verbs which includes both translational and non-translational motion actions, displays similar typological behavior to that of the basic grooming verbs with regard to reflexive meaning. They are reflexive-like to the extent that they denote actions in which a volitional entity acts on its own body. However, they are distinguished from reflexives as they all express actions inherent to one's body.

There are languages in which these types of body movement verbs are very frequently expressed with a middle morphology. Nevertheless, there are other languages in which the fact that this type of movement is so inherent to one's own body, i.e. it is more natural for such actions to be done in one's personal sphere than on someone else, results in the fact that these type of verbs will never take a morphological middle marking. They could be considered though

lexical middles. NMH has cases in which body movement verbs take middle suffixes as illustrated in (318) - (320) below. But not in all cases as illustrated in and (321).

(318)

huzɔ-kɔdik ki ɛ zadʒ ɔlɔl (middle)

crawl-MID.3S out the bed from.under

‘He was crawling out from under the bed.’

(319)

mare mutal-udik nəɛzɛnd (middle)

Mary move-MID.3S difficult

‘Mary moves with difficulty.’

(320)

serik ə hat-ə, y ɛmɛl-kɛdik nəɛzɛn (middle)

heart.3S the back-3S.GEN, he raise-MID.3S difficult

‘His back hurts, he raises with difficulty.’

(321)

biko yl hatond (active)

frog sit.3S on.back

‘The frog is sitting on its back.’

Thus, although there were examples of motion verbs marked with a middle marker in NMH, there is a higher tendency for this type of verbs to be expressed by means of unmarked intransitive morphology. One reasonable interpretation is that these situation types are conceived as unary or atomic actions, rather than complex actions distinguished into their component parts of acting and acted on entities.

In conclusion, middle motion/movement situation types can be marked with *-yd* and *-ked* middle marker but never with *-yl/-ul* middle marker.

6.1.3 Reciprocal situation types

Reciprocal situation types are highly relevant to middle semantics. This paper does not make a distinction between Kemmer’s prototypical reciprocals and naturally reciprocal events. Kemmer’s so called prototypical/basic reciprocals,

which are syntactically marked and not morphologically middle marked, are considered in this paper to be syntactic middle reciprocals. Hence, the semantic characterization of a reciprocal event is one in which two participants equally act upon each other; both are equally the Initiators of one relation and the Endpoints of the other relation. There are of course cases in which there are more than two entities involved in this type of relation such as an event in which X, Y and Z greet each other or congratulate each other. Such cases will not be discussed in this paper when dealing with reciprocal semantics as they were not at all common in the database.

(322)

həmɔrab segityt:ɛk⁶²

once help.MID.PST.3PL

‘They helped each other.’

⁶² The underlying form is s git-yd-t- k.

(323)

nyk ʝyl-kɛz-ynk (hoʝ-lɛʝynk-korazəs:ək)

we meet-MID-3PL

‘We are meeting so that we would be happy.’

(324)

ver-ɛked-nɛk ɛ zɛbid-byl, ha ju (middle)

fight-MID-3PL the food-ELA, if good

‘They are fighting over food, (if it is) good.’

In conclusion, reciprocal middles can only be formed with *-yɔ* and *-kɛɔ* and *-kɛz* but never with *-yl/-ul* middle suffix. Chapter 7 will only discuss the reciprocal construction especially mono-claused reciprocals expressed morphologically, syntactically, and lexically. It will tackle questions such as 1) which verbs take the middle marker to express reciprocity and which ones cannot 2) which verbs can express reciprocity by using both the middle and the syntactic reciprocal marker; is there a change in the meaning the constructions express or is the usage interchangeable and much more.

Finally, there are other semantic configurations that are similar to the reciprocal situation nonetheless depart in specific ways from the reciprocal type. These are reciprocal and reflexive situations, reciprocal and collective situations and reciprocal and chaining situations. In NMH the only polysemy relation found in the database is the reflexive/reciprocal situation which will be discussed in chapter 7.

6.1.4 Spontaneous event constructions

Another semantic domain that impinges on the middle is spontaneous events. A spontaneous construction is one in which the event is conceptualized as happening spontaneously without any planning. The participation of an agent especially a human agentive force is completely denied. In other words, the element of intentionality of an agent carrying out the event is not there. The spontaneous event construction expresses only the event itself, namely, the result. The subject of the sentence can be both animate and inanimate. Natural phenomena are also considered part of the spontaneous event constructions.

One set of verbs expressing such events designates physical processes or actions typically perceived as occurring without direct initiation by a human Agent. These include physiological processes such as dying, growing, ripening, physiochemical changes such as melting, freezing, drying, etc. Similar changes include changes in size and color and other physical properties.

Spontaneous events: Inanimate subjects

These events are most frequently expressed by using the *-yl/-ul* middle suffix. There were very few examples of *-ud* and *-ked* middle suffix. Adjectives and nouns most frequently take the *-yl/-ul* middle suffix and participate in spontaneous events, (325) and (326).

(325)

ε viz mεg meleg-yl-t

this water PREV warm-MID-3S.PST

‘The water got warm.’

(326)

setit-yl

darkness-MID.3S

‘It is getting dark.’

However, there are cases in which verbs also take the *-yl/-ul* middle.

(327)

sə mæg fog-ul-t

and PREV catch-MID-3S.PST

‘And it coagulated.’

(328)

le ford-ul-t ə kərutsə

down turn.MID.PST.3S the cart

‘The cart turned over.’

(329)

(ha nɛm ɔntɔd be sytkyʃkebe)

then you pour it into the cheesecloth

sə y syr-ɛkɛdik lɛ
 and it sieve-MID-3S down

‘And it drips/sieves itself out (down).’

(330)

ɛzɛ haz lɛ porul-ɔd-ɔt ɪndatə
 This house down demolish-MID-3S.PST at.once

‘This house demolished at once.’

Spontaneous events: Animate subjects

(331)

zɛmber mɛg riseg-yl-t
 man PREV drunk-MID-3S.PST

‘The man got drunk.’

(332)

bubɔ lɛ liniʃtil-yd-et

baby down calm-MID-3S.PST

‘The baby calmed down.’

A very interesting case is when the middle suffix *-yd* is attached to the verb *yt/kill*. The result is not the reflexive action that someone killed themselves but that someone died, illustrated in (333b) and (333c). There is another lexical item which means die and this is exemplified in (334).

(333)

a.

y yt mɛg ingɛmɛt (active)

he kill.3S PREV I.ACC

‘He is killing me.’

b.

y yt-ydik mɛg (middle)

he kill-MID.3S

‘He is dying.’

c.

petru mæg yt-yd-εt: sə yt-ydik y is (middle)

Peter PREV kill-MID-3S.PST and kill-MID.3S she too

‘Petru died so now she dies too.’

(334)

y həl

he die.3S

‘He dies.’

As can be seen the *-y/ul* suffix occurs in spontaneous constructions. In most cases adjectives take this middle suffix. Nevertheless, in the case verbs take this suffix the construction is a spontaneous event.

6.1.5 Impersonal constructions

An impersonal construction is a construction in which although the intentional agent of the action is not explicitly there, the agent’s presence as part of a background understanding exists.

In NMH the middle marker is used without a necessary reference to an Endpoint.

(335)

portokalaḥ kəmin sə nəɛzən sərit-udik
orange hard and hardly squeeze-MID.3S

‘The orange is hard and it squeezes hardly.’

(336)

in:et lat-udik i həd, ə Babadokje
from.here see-MID.3S a mountain, Baba Dochie

‘From here a mountain named Babadochie is visible.’

6.1.5 Internal (mental) processes situation types

These constructions usually involve mental processes of feeling, thinking seeing as defined by Halliday (1985:117). Cognition verbs such as ‘think’ , ‘know’ , ‘figure out’ , ‘decide’ are part of these internal processes. Mental events related to middle semantics can be divided into three main types: events of emotion, cognition and perception.

This set of middle situations is quite complex. I will limit myself here to sketching out the basic semantics of a number of mental situation types which are relevant to the middle semantics. A simple mental event has two participants one which is the experiencer/sentient entity in whose mind the mental event takes place and the second entity is the Stimulus of the mental event. This stimulus brings about a mental event in the mind of the experiencer. It is very common for cognitive/mental events for the Stimulus not to be coded at all or to be deemphasized by the speaker. Hence, mental events are middle events because the affectedness of the Initiator is an inherent part of the event and like the body action of motion verbs which involves participation of the Initiating entity's own body. So, in both mental events and motion events the conceptual separation between the Initiating point and the endpoint is non-existent.

Emotion

The subject of the sentence is not an agent but an experiencer. It is the container in which a particular action happens. It did not cause the event. Hence in a sentence such as he got angry, the subject he is the experiencer of this feeling of anger. However, the subject is not the one that caused the anger to himself it is someone else that can or cannot be mentioned in the sentence. Emotion also seems to affect the mental entity more than other types of mental events. The experiencer is more involved in an emotion activity or state than in simple thought or perception activity. As already discussed one of the functions of the middle marker is to code affectedness of an initial entity this might be the reason why in NMH emotion situation types are more likely to be subsumed under middle marking. However, they differ from the other types of middle situations that have been examined until now such as reflexive, grooming, movement events as they usually involve less control of the experiencer. In other words, one has less control over the emotions than over one's physical

perception, or physical action, or even one's thoughts. In a lot of cases in NMH the middle marker serves to mark causative-inchoative oppositions such as 'frighten' and 'become frightened', 'happy' and 'become happy'.

(337)

bukural-udik

happy-MID.3S.PRES

"He gets happy."

(338)

nɛm ɲəval-udik mɛg

not nervous-MID.3S.PRES PREV

"He does not get angry /nervous."

(339)

ɛz ɛ bubə nɛm erz-ydik jul

This the child not feel-MID.3S.PRES good

"This child doesn't feel well."

(340)

ki vɛtɛk ə zɔpɪat, visik ɛ mɛzy-rɛ

PREV separate.3PL.PST the mother.ACC, take.3PL the field-SUB

sə ɔst nɛm visik mondom **nəkəzəl-yd-ik**

and that not take.3PL say.1S angry-MID-3S

‘It’s mother has been separated from the cattle, she is being taken to the field and they aren’t

Taking this little one and I say it **getting upset.**’

An interesting example is the verb *sirɔtudik* ‘cry/mourn’. If one looks at the middle vs active usage of this verb, the meaning seems to be exactly the same but if one takes a better look especially at the semantics of the sentences as whole and the context it occurs in the difference in usage of the middle form *sirɔtudik* and the active form *sirɔt* is clear.

Middle usage

(385)

sirətudik	ək:or	hat,	sirətudik,	el	mərət
cry.MID.3S	then	because,	cry.MID.3S,	PREV	leave.3S.PST

‘Then it is crying, crying, because it was left behind.’

(386)

zion	sirətudik	el	vestet:ε	ʃitkujat
John	mourn.MID.3S	PREV	loose.3S.PST	foal.ACC

‘John is mourning because he lost his foal.’

Active usage

(341)

sirət:əm	ost	ε	dʒerməkεʃket	mεʕiket	el	tεmet:εk	mu
mourn.1S.PST	that	The	boy.DIM.ACC	who.REL.ACC	PREV	bury.PST.3S	today

‘I was mourning that little boy they buried today.’

The middle form is always used when the reason is a personal loss of some kind as the fact that he lost his own foal or a something that directly affects the experiencer, as the fact that he was left behind and that is why he is crying. If

one mourns or cries because someone else's boy died than the middle form of the verb is not used but if one cries because something happened to one or to someone or something in one's own personal sphere the middle form of the verb is used by the consultant.

In conclusion, emotion constructions are expressed by using the middle suffix *-ud/-yd*. If an adjective does take the *-ud/-yd* middle suffix instead of the usual *-yl/-ul* middle suffix they take part in experiencer constructions.

Cognition verbs

In NMH there are a number of cognition verbs that appear with middle marking. One such example is the following one.

(342)

mæg hətərɪl-ud-ot ə primərje bonʃak lɛ hazot, skualat

PREV decide-MID-PST the city.hall destroy.3S down house.ACC, school.ACC

‘The city hall decided to destroy the house, the school.’

In a lot of cases these verbs are deponents. Nevertheless, some have both middle and an active intransitive counterpart. The following discussion regarding verbs such as ‘pray’ and ‘think’ suggests that the difference between the middle marked verbs and the active verbs is the fact that middle marked verbs emphasize the affectedness of the Experiencer; whereas, the active counterpart describes a more active volitional process.

If one looks for the definition of the verb ‘pray’ in a dictionary the following definition is given: “to speak to a God either privately or in a religious ceremony in order to express love, admiration or thanks or in order to ask for something “; however, I think that a much deeper mental process is involved in the verb praying than just speaking to God. It is also involves a feeling of strong hope that something will happen.

At a first glance, the active constructions and the middle constructions of the verbs ‘pray’ and ‘think, seem to have the same meaning. Nevertheless, I have looked at all the examples in my data and have come to the conclusion that there

are slight semantic differences between the middle constructions and the active constructions.

In the case of the verb *imad* - 'pray', the active form of the verb 'pray' occurred only 2 times in the database and was always used as an imperative form asking someone to pray to God for the people. The middle form occurred 43 times and was usually used as an act of hoping that some particular thing will occur, as illustrated in the following examples.

(343)

imadʒ:	istent	ki	erɛ:ɣnk	(active)
pray.SUBJ.2S	God.ACC	PREV	for.us	

'Pray to God for us.'

(344)

mɛn:ɛk	imadkəz -və	ə	zutond	hoʃ	jøønd	ɛ	zɛs:y	(middle)
go.3PL	pray.MID-	ADVP	The	road.on	that	come.3S.SUBJ	the	rain

'They go praying on the road so that the rain would come.'

(345)

hjabə	imadkozol	miantəd	ha	mas	miant	nem	imadkozol	(middle)
without	pray.MID.2S	for.yourself	if	other	for	no	pray.MID.2S	

‘You pray for yourself in vain if you don't pray for others.’

In the case of the verb *gondol*- ‘think’, at the first glance it seems that both the active form *gondol* and the middle form *gondolkoz*- *have the same meaning as an internal process of thinking* but if one carefully looks at all the examples in the database which were 32 sentences, a difference in their usage and meanings can be detected. When checking carefully the 32 occurrences of the verb *gondol*- ‘think’ and the context they occur in, one can see that the middle form *gondolkoz* always had a meaning of *thinking about something because one is interested in it and wants to know more about it or because one is worried or suspicious about it*. A second less frequent meaning *was thinking until one realizes something*. Whereas, in the case of the active form *gondol* ‘think’, the meaning was more of about *having an opinion about a particular thing, being*

considering someone or just the neutral sense of thinking without any worries about something or someone.

Opinion – usage of the active form:

(346)

no	monɔ	hoɔ	gondolod	vigzed	ɛl	est	ɛ	dɔrɔbot	mig	østig?
so	say.2S	that	think.2S	finish.2S	PREV	this	the	bit	until	nightfall

‘So do you think you will finish this bit until nightfall?’

(347)

nɛm	irzydɛm	jul	gondoltɔm	hoɔ	yɛk	hond
no	feel.MID.1S	well	think.1S	that	stay.1S	home

‘I don't feel well so I thought I'd stay home.’

Consider – usage of the active form:

(348)

y	oʎɔn	dorʃo	ment	mind	mɛnɛn	bitʃikletɔ
he	fast	very	go.3.S.PST	as	go.3S.OPT	bicycle

‘He was going as fast as the bike could go’

tɛ	nɛm	gondol-t-al	hoz:om
you	not	think.PST-2S	ALL.1S

‘You did not think of me.’

zutarə	mɛg	ɛsydet:	kə	nɛm	kɛl	vɔlɔ	engɛm	ɛl	hɔʝ:ɔn
then	PREV	smart.MID.3S.PST	that	not	need	be.3S.PST	me	PREV	behind

‘Then he realized he shouldn't have left me behind’

In this case the consultant is complaining that her husband did not think of her, i.e. did not show consideration for her and did not pay attention to her needs.

Thinking-the neutral mental act of thinking- usage of the active form

(349)

jet etnil dolgozol las:əb:ən , gondolts ʃupə zɛbidhez
 when hungry.2S work.2S slower think.2S only food.ALL

‘When you're hungry you work slower, you keep thinking only about food.’

Think/wonder because of a reason – usage of the middle form:

(350)

en gondol-koz-om ε zifjusagombə kɛ sil ult
 I think-MID-1S the childhood.ILLIN because nice be.3S.PST

‘I think about my childhood / youth because it was nice.’

(351)

en gondol-koz-om ə mamaəz

I think-MID-1S the mother.ALL

‘I am thinking about mother.’

mət kɛ dorilom ha ɛl mentem mas orsagbə

because wish.1.S if PREV go.1S other country.ILLIN

sɛ ɛl hɔtɔm ykɛt hond

and PREV leave.1S.PST home

‘Because I wish if I went to another country and I left them home’

The consultant is thinking about her mom what will happen to her if the consultant will follow her wishes and go to another country to work and leave her children with her mom. Hence, here again one can see that the mental process of thinking is caused by worries. An even clearer example is the following one which is extracted from a narration of the consultant who is

wondering how her situation will be when she will be old. She expressed a lot of worries if someone will ever come and visit her and help her. She was devastated by the thought that she will need a loaf of bread and would have to wait for her daughter Mary to have some time and bring her one.

(352)

en **gondolkozom** hoʃ kəl lɛjɛk ʃɛt lɛsɛk vɪn

I think.MID.1S that need be when be-1S old

‘I am wondering how I will be when I am old’

nɛm vɔts urɔ, nɛm nɛz senki hozɹad

not be.2S can, no Look not.who ALL.2S

‘You cannot do things, no one visits you’

tudʒɔ istɛn hoʃ lɛs

know.3S God how be.1S

‘God only knows how it will be.’

Think a lot until one realizes or becomes aware of a particular fact – usage of

middle:

(353)

intəj	sɛrɛtːɛ	sɛ	most	ɟustə
at.first	love.3S.PST	and	now	skin.3S.PST

‘In the beginning she loved him and now she skinned him.’

mɛg	ɡondolkozotː	kɛ	ʃant	i	nɔɟ	bynt
PREV	think.MID.3S.PST	That	do.3S.pST	a	big	sin/crime

‘She realized that she committed a major crime.’

sɛ	y	zutarə	ɛl	vɛtːɛ	kest	sɛ	ki	vaktə	ɟɔkat
and	she	then	PREV	take.3S.PST	knife.ACC	and	out	cut.3S.PST	throat

‘And then she took the knife and cut her throat.’

The following two sentences exemplify this difference. When the consultant is worried about the fact that the son is not writing to her, she uses the middle

form of the verb to think. Basically, she is wondering what is wrong with her son. Whereas, when the thinking about her son is neutral not caused by wonders or worries then the active form of the verb to think is made use of.

(354)

ε	fɪɔm	ir	dʒirend,			
the	son.1S.POSS	write.1S	rarely			
mind	ir	dʒirend	mig	en	təb:ət	gondolkozom,
like	write.3S	rarely	I	more.ACC	think.MID.1S	
gondolok	hoz:ajə					
think.1S	ALL.3S					

‘My son writes rarely, the more rarely he writes, the more I think about him.’

(355)

mɛɲet	ir	dʒireb:ɛn	dʒɛrmekem
how much	write.3S	rarely	child.1S.POSS
ɟɪ:ɔnɔl	gondolok	təbət	hoz:ajə
so.much	think.1S	more.ACC	ALL.3S

‘The more rarely my child writes to me the more often I think about him’

Here again at first glance, one might think that the meaning of the verb ‘wait’ in the following two sentences is exactly the same. However, after going over the entire database, the drawn conclusion is that the active form of the verb has the meaning of ‘wait as in waiting for someone, spending time doing very little because you cannot act until that thing happens or that person arrives; whereas, the middle form has more of the meaning of expecting, waiting eagerly. Hence, here again the middle form of the verb is used by the consultant when the act of waiting is not only the neutral meaning but involves an internal cognitive process expressing a feeling of strong hopes and beliefs that something will happen.

(356)

y varudik lɛjɛn jobɔn

he wait-MID.3S be.OPT.3S better

‘He is waiting to get better.’ (or we might interpret it as he expects to get better)

The verb wait also occurs with active morphology as illustrated below.

(357)

ɛ janos varjə Maret

The John wait.3.SG Mary-ACC

‘John is waiting for Mary.’

Thus, the middle verb wait in (356) should be understood more like expecting, he is expecting or waiting for himself to get better; whereas, in the active sentence (357) the agent is waiting for another separate entity, in this case the accusative argument is Mary.

Perception

Perception verbs designate an experience via the perceptual modalities. In some cases the Experiencer is marked as the Initiator as in I hear music, and in some other cases the Stimulus is the Initiator ‘Music is heard from far away’. In NMH only the cases in which the Stimulus is conceived as the Initiator, i.e. Stimulus-based perception verbs occur in middle-marked patterns. These type of situations are related to the impersonal-type.

(358)

εz ε zεbid erz-yd-ik sip byzy

the this food feel-MID-3S beautiful smell

‘This food smells good.’

6.2 Verbs that can take more than one middle suffix

As mentioned in section 6.1 one of the reasons a clear generalization of the function of the middle suffixes by looking only at the semantics of the parts of speech it attaches to could not be achieved is because of the cases in which the same verb can take more than one middle suffix.

These cases are under discussion in this section. There are cases in which the same verb takes more than one middle marker those cases are simple if one can see that depending on the middle marker the middle situation type it expresses is different. So for example when the verb *ver* / ‘hit’ takes the middle marker –*yd/ud* it expresses a reflexive situation type meaning to hit oneself or an impersonal meaning but if the same verb takes the middle marker –*kεz* it expresses a reciprocal situation type meaning they hit each other as illustrated below.

(359)

<i>dakə</i>	<i>εsik</i>	<i>lε</i>	<i>kə</i>	<i>ver-yd-ik,</i>	<i>hεp-yd-ik</i>	<i>ε</i>	<i>fyld-hεz</i>
If	falls.3S	down	if	hit-MID-3S,	convulse-MID-3SG	the	floor-ALL

‘If he falls on the ground and hits himself on the ground, he is convulsing on the floor.’

(360)

<i>tεd</i>	<i>ε</i>	<i>fyldet</i>	<i>hoʃ</i>	<i>ver-ydʒ-ik</i>	<i>mεg</i>	<i>ε</i>	<i>fyld</i>
hit	the	ground.ACC	that	hit-MID-3S	PREV	the	ground

‘You are hitting the ground so that it would be beaten / flattened.’

(361)

ε tʃukok vɛr-ɛkɛd-nɛk harəm puɟ sɛm-byɪ
 The chickens hit-MID-3PL three corn kernel-ELA

‘The chickens are fighting (hitting each other) about three kernels of corn.’

However, a variety of problematic cases arose such as verbs which take two or more different middle markers but seem to convey the same meaning, such as *ʃan/make* do which has the two middle variants *ʃanul* and *ʃanudik*.

(362)

zəjtu ki ʃan-ul-t kɪrtʃeg-vɛ dɛ nɛm tud-om ki ʃan-t-ə
 door out do-MID-PST.3S creak-ADVP but not know-1S out do-PST-3S

‘The door opened creaking but I don't know who opened it.’

(363)

zəjtu ki ʃan-ud-ɔt
 door out do-MID.3S-PST

‘The door opened.’

fanul is mainly used in inchoative/spontaneous constructions denoting the action of ‘becoming something’ and here again if the preverb *be* is added than the meaning is close and if *ki* is added than open.

The conclusion, reached after analyzing all the occurrences of *fanul*, is that all of its usages, except 2 which were ‘open/close’, are ‘X turned into/became Y’. Hence, *fanul* is mainly used in inchoative constructions denoting the action of ‘becoming something’. However, the middle verb *fanudik* has a larger range of usages such as ‘grow’ in (364), pretend as in (365), passive like usage of make (366), ‘turning into/becoming Y’ as in (367), and opening/closing in (368).

(364)

it	ε	ker-be	fan-ud-ik	ε	mentə
here	the	garden-ILLIN	do-MID-3S	the	mint

‘Mint grows in our garden.’

(365)

ʃan-ud-ik kə dolgoz-ik

do-MID-3S that work-3S

‘He pretends that he works.’

(366)

εz uʃuʃkab kə nem ʃan-ud-ik tej-byɫ, ʃan-ud-ik soje-k-byɫ

this cheaper because not do-MID-3S milk-ELA, do-MID-3S soy-PL-ELA

‘This is cheaper because it is not made from milk, it is made from soy.’

(367)

mεg fog-ul-t, mεg ʃanud-ot minʃet ə serʃik

PREV catch-MID.3S.PST PREV do-MID.3S-PST like the sour.milk

‘It coagulated and it became sour milk.’

The more difficult cases are ones in which these two middle verbs occurred in the same exact environments as illustrated above in sentences (362) and (363). However, if one looks at the whole discourse surrounding those sentences the following generalization can be made. In the case of the *-yl/ul* middle suffix the participation of an agent is completely denied. Nowhere in the narration does the

consultant mention the existence of a human or non-human agent that has caused the door to open. The consultant even clearly says that she does not know who opened the door - *dε nεm tudom ki ʃantə*. However, in the case of the *ud/yd* middle suffix, although the intentional agent of the action is not explicitly there, the presence of an agent as part of the background understanding exists. The consultant mentions in her narration that she was the one who opened the door, as illustrated below.

(368)

zəjtu	ki	ʃan-ud-ət
door	out	do-MID-3S.PST

‘The door opened.’

(369)

ki	ʃanutək	ə	zəjtuk
out	open	the	door.PL

‘I opened the doors’

In conclusion, the above discussion showed why the categorization of the semantic functions of the middle voice suffixes in NMH could not be achieved just by looking at the semantics of the parts of speech they get attached to but had to be done by looking at the constructions as a whole. Only by analyzing the constructions as a whole could the different functions of each middle suffix in NMH be revealed, as illustrated in table 65.

6.3 The semantic relations among the middle types in NMH

The following are the three most important semantic properties related to the semantic domain of middle voice in NMH. The first property which is common to all the middle situation types and relates them to each other to the extent that they belong to the same semantic domain is the confinement of the development of an action within the agent's sphere so that the action's effect accrues back on the agent itself. The second one is the degree of volitionality of the Initiator/Agent and the third one is the degree of affectedness of the Initiator/Agent.

The various situation types discussed in the preceding chapters can be placed relative to one another on a “semantic map” based on the shared semantic properties of these situation types, as represented in the following diagram.

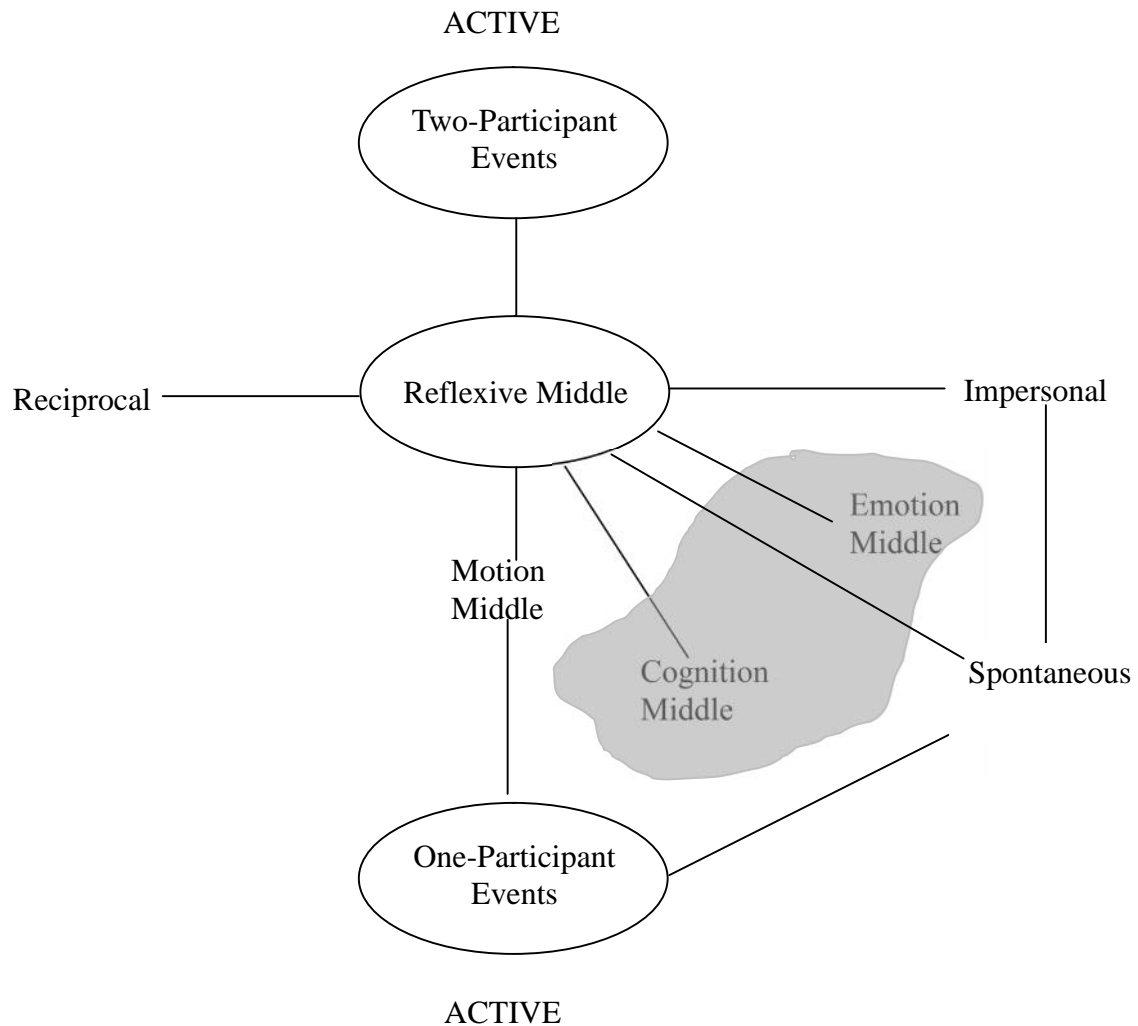


Figure 4 Semantic relations among middle situation types of NMH

Each major situation type discussed in the present chapter and in more detail in chapter 7 and 8 is represented by a node. The lines that connect the situation types signify specific semantic properties on which the connections are based. The specific semantic connections will be clarified below. The spatial distance between the situation types in the diagram represents to some extent the semantic proximity between them.

Once again the main property that connects all the situation types and relates them to each other to the extent that they belong to the same semantic domain is the fact that the development of an action is confined within the agent's sphere so that the action's effect accrues back on the agent itself.

The top and the bottom nodes represent the two main types of active events, i.e. the two-participant event (the prototypical transitive event) and the one-participant event (the prototypical intransitive event). The reflexive middle is considered to be somewhere in between these two event types as it is semantically intermediate between a true two-participant event and a one-

participant event. It is similar to a two participant event because there are two distinguishable aspects of an individual but is similar to one-participant event because the two participants are actually instantiations of one and the same entity.

The reflexive middle situation types like the two active types (i.e. one-participant events and two participant events) share the characterization of a volitional Initiator. Thus, the lines connecting between these three nodes express the fact that they share this property.

There is no passive node in the present diagram because in NMH the development of the passive out of the middle category is not attested. This development is usually seen to be the last step in the long chain of expansion of a middle construction across the middle domain and beyond. That a passive construction arises out of a middle construction when the spontaneous use of the middle construction expands to cover those situations that can occur only when

an agent is involved, is a cross-linguistic attested process. This process did not yet or might never occur in NMH as it is an endangered language.

As already mentioned, the impersonal consists of situation types in which the chief participant is directly affected but not volitionally active or better said not volitionally initiating the event. Hence, the impersonal situation node is connected to the reflexive node because they share the semantic property of affectedness of the Initiator. What differentiates it from the reflexive middle is the fact that the chief initiator is not volitionally initiating the event. Moreover, it relates to the spontaneous middle situation types because it shares the characteristics of affectedness of the chief participant and low-to no saliency of any participant that might have caused the event to happen.

The reflexive middle is connected to the internal process situations (cognitive, emotion and perception) because they share the semantic property of affectedness of the Initiator. The difference though is that with the cognitive situation types it also shares at least partially the semantic property of a

volitional Initiator; while, in the case of the emotion situation type there is a low or almost non-existent volitionality. Finally, the reflexive is connected to the movement situation type because it shares the semantic property of volitional Initiator. In other words, denotes actions in which a volitional entity acts on its own body.

The reciprocal/reflexive connection has to do with the correlation between the two participants in the event. In both situation types the action is carried out toward a patient which is coreferential with the agent. That is why it is represented as being connected to the reflexive middle node. From the representation of the reciprocals in the diagram it might seem that it stands in opposition to the impersonal events but that is not my intent.

6.4 Syntactic Middles

Syntactic middles usually express two types of situations in NMH, reflexive and reciprocal situations. In NMH there are two reciprocal markers

zedʒik/zedʒik/edʒik/edʒik ə masik and i mas, as illustrated in the following sentences.

(370)

dʒermək-ik	mæg	səbt:ak	edʒik	ə	masik-ət
boy-PL	PREV	hit.3S.PST	one	the	other-ACC

‘The boys hit each other.’

(371)

dʒermək-ik	mos:ak	i	mas-t
boy-PL	wash.3PL	a	other-ACC

‘The boys are washing each other.’

The syntactic reflexive middle construction is formed by using the anaphoric operator *maga/məga/məgə* which means ‘own/alone/by oneself’, as illustrated below.

(372)

ʃet	ront	vəʎəmit	ok:or	maga-t	pedəpsiʎə	mæg	(active)
when	breaks	something.ACC	REFL-ACC	Then	punish.3S	PREV	

‘When he breaks something he punishes himself.’

In this section the form and function of these anaphoric operators is presented.

6.4.1 The Syntactic Middle Reciprocal constructions

Formation:

The reciprocal anaphoric operator *zedzik ə masik* is formed from the word *zedzik/zedzik/edzik* which means ‘one’, ‘one of the’ and *masik* which means ‘other’, ‘the other’, and ‘another’. Hence, the literary translation would be ‘one to the other’. The same anaphoric operator is used regardless of person. *zedzik ə masik* declines like a regular noun. Sentences (373) and (374) illustrate usages of *zedzik/zedzik/edzik* on its own and (375) and (376) of *masik* on its own, i.e. with no reciprocal usage. In the majority of cases the syntactic middle reciprocal constructions has an active form of the verb plus the reciprocal anaphoric operators.

(373)

most	lə	vɛt-ɪɛ	bares-at	ɲaka-rul,
now	down	take.PST-3S	bandana-ACC	neck-DEL,

mɛg	tørølte	ɛ	zedʒik	kørt-et
PREV	wipe.3S.PST	the	one	pear-ACC

‘He took his bandana off of his neck, he wiped one pear (one of the pears).’

(374)

ɛ	zedʒik	kɔzylik	ɛl	ment	sɛ	ɛl	vitɛ
the	one		away	go.3S.PST	and	away	take.3S.PST

nɛki	ə	kɔlɔpo-t
he.DAT	the	hat-ACC

‘One of them went and took the hat back to him.’

(375)

mamə tət:ɛ be ɔb:ɔ gɛrɛbɛn-bɛ s uta-rə masik-vəl

mother put.3S.PST in that.ILLIN comb-ILLIN and after-SUB other-INS

huztə inini

comb.3S.PST like.this

‘Mother put it onto one comb and combed it with the other.’

(376)

jɛt be jət masik botʃ:a-əl munɔ ɛst ɛ

when in come.3S.PST other.S stick-INS say.3S this the

seli-byɫ yt:-ɛm ɛlɛget ys:ɛm masik-ɔt ə fəl-nal

edge-ELA hit.PST-1S enough hit.1S other-ACC The wall-ADE

‘And when he came in with the other stick he says, I gave good enough trashing to the one on

the outside, now I should beat the one at the wall.’

If the two lexical items are combined, the result is the anaphoric operator ‘each other’ or ‘one another’. The case marking always occurs on the pronoun ‘other’ and never on the numeral *zedzik/zedzik/edzik*.

(377)

ni	vokor-jak	ε	zedzik	ə	masik-ot
look	scratch-3PL.DEF	the	One	the	other-ACC

‘Look they are scratching each other (they have fleas).’

(378)

meg	mutfi-t-ak	ε	zedzik	ə	masik-nək
PREV	show-PST-3PL	the	one	the	other-DAT

‘They introduced someone to one another.’

The reciprocal anaphoric operator *i mas* is formed from the word *i* which has in most cases the meaning of the indefinite article ‘a’ and in some cases ‘one’ as illustrated below and *mas* which means ‘other’/‘else’. Hence, the literary translation of this reciprocal anaphoric operator would be ‘another’/‘one another’. Here again the form of the verb is in most cases the active form.

The following examples illustrate the usage of each lexical item used on its

own.

(379)

en isom i ber-et

I drink.1S a beer-ACC

‘I drink a beer.’

(380)

y le seretet: mas nipet

he down loves.3S.PST other woman.ACC

‘He cheated (on his wife) with another woman.’

Here are examples of *i mas* reciprocal anaphoric operator.

(381)

be	mən-t-əm	ə	haz-bə	sə	ʎan-ək	nɛz-nɛk	vɔlo
in	go-PST-1S	the	house-ILLIN	and	girl-PL	look-3S	be.3S.PST

i mas-əz

a other-ALL

‘I entered into the house and the girls were looking at each other’.

(382)

ʃɔpɔʎak/ʃɔpɔl-jak	i	mas-t
hit-3PL.DEF	one	other-ACC

‘They hit each other.’

Finally, as can be seen from all the above examples, the most frequent way of forming those constructions is by using the active form of the verb plus the relevant reciprocal anaphoric marker. In chapter 7 each construction will be checked in great detail and the variety of reciprocal situations they express will

be under discussion such as direct reciprocals, indirect reciprocals, and so on. As for now a comparison of the two syntactic middle reciprocals is necessary.

Comparison of the two syntactic middle reciprocal constructions:

After discussing the formation of these two anaphoric operators, the next step is to verify if there are any differences in meaning and function between these two reciprocal middle constructions? In the present there were a large number of instances in which the two middle markers occurred in the exact same environment with the exact same verbs as illustrated in (383) and (384) below.

(383)

λaɲək	fysylik	i	mast
girl.PL	comb.3PL	a	other.ACC

‘The girls are combing each other’

(384)

ʎanəʃkak	fysylik	edʒik	ə	masikət
girl.DIM.PL	comb.3PL	one	the	other.ACC

‘The girls comb one another.’

Only by looking at the sentences themselves, no difference in their function could be found. However, after a thorough analysis of all the occurrences of the two syntactic reciprocal middle constructions, 98 in number, the following generalization of the difference in the meaning and usage of the two constructions can be made. Both constructions can occur in the same environment with grooming verbs, force verbs such as hitting, pushing etc. Nevertheless, I have found two main differences in their usage. Both the *zedʒik ə masik* and *the i mas* anaphoric expressed reciprocal situations in which one could not understand if there are two entities involved or multiple entities. The subject was plural, as in ‘the girls combed themselves’, or ‘they bend one in front of the other’. In these cases 2 or more than 2 entities can be involved in

the action. However, only *zedzik ə masik* was used in reciprocal situations which clearly lexically expressed two entities.

(385)

anə	viktorje-ɛl	pretʃinok	sɛ	studentek	ə	zamerikabə
Anne	Viktoria-AD	friend.PL	and	student.PL	the	America.ILLIN

‘Anne and Victoria are friends and students in America’

(386)

bəsilnək	ɛ	zedzik	ə	masik-nək	telefonbə
talk.3PL	the	one	the	other-DAT	telephone.ILLIN

‘They are talking over the phone to each other.’

(387)

fəl	tɛtɛ	labəit	edzik	ə	masik-rə
up	put.PST.3S	leg.ACC	one	the	other-SUBL

‘She put one leg onto the other.’

(388)

kjabur ʎaŋ sɛ y dʒaknək fiʝə

rich girl and he peasant.DAT son

sɛ mind ɛ ket:ɛn sɛrɛtik edʒik ə masik-ət

and like the two love.3S one the other-ACC

‘The rich girl and the son of the peasant cantor love each other.’

Another main difference between these two syntactic middle reciprocal constructions is the fact that it I found only *i mas* constructions that clearly express reciprocal actions that cannot be done concomitantly, as illustrated below.

(389)

ki vetik i mast ɛ vizbyl

out take.3PL.PST a other.ACC the water.from

‘They took one another out from the water.’

A third difference, is that *edzik ə masik* never occurred in possessive reciprocal constructions whereas, the *i mas* anaphoric operator occurs as illustrated below.

(390)

buba-k	mæg	hərægut:-ək	se	ki	tʃiptik	i	mas	høj-at
kid-PL	PREV	angry.MID.PST-3PL	and	out	tear.3P	a	another	hair-ACC

‘The kids got angry and they are tearing at each other's hair.’

(391)

tʃip-yd-nək	i	mas	høj-a-tul
tear-MID-3S	a	other	hair-ALL

‘They were tearing at each other's hair.’

Finally, another difference is the type of verb used in each construction. In most cases, as already mentioned, the active form of the verb is used, however, in some cases the middle form of the verb occurred in these syntactic middle reciprocal constructions. Moreover, it has been found that *i mas* co-occurs more

frequently with verbs marked morphologically for reciprocity (10 occurrences out of 56) than *edzik ə masik* (4 occurrences out of 42).

(392)

dʒerməkik	mɛg	gøntʃylyt:ɛk	i	mast
boy.PL	PREV	hit.MID.PST.3PL	a	other.ACC

‘The boys hit each other.’

(393)

kerylydynk	i	mastul,	nɛm	dʒylynk,
avoid.MID.1PL	a	other.ABL,	no	meet.1PL,

‘We are avoiding each other, we don't meet up,

(394)

yk	dʒylylydnɛk	edzik	ə	masikot
they	hate.MID.3PL	one	the	other.ACC

‘They hate each other.’

(395)

dʒərməkik	mɛg	səbut:ək ⁶³	edʒik	ə	masikət
boy.PL	PREV	hit.MID.PST.3PL	one	the	other.ACC

‘The boys hit each other.’

Moreover, when using the middle verb in the *edʒik ə masik* constructions the consultant more frequently continued to produce the reciprocal sentence again with an active verb.

(396)

ʎanəʃkak	fysylyt:ək ⁶⁴	edʒik	ə	masikət
girl.DIM.PL	comb.MID.3PL.PST	One	the	other.ACC

‘The girls combed one another.’

(397)

ʎanəʃkak	fysylik	edʒik	ə	masikət
girl.DIM.PL	comb.3PL	one	the	other.ACC

‘The girls comb one another.’

⁶³ The underlying for is s b-ud-t- k/hit-MID-PST-3PL

⁶⁴ The underlying form is fysyl-yd-t- k/comb-MID-PST-3PL

As the examples with the middle verb plus the reciprocal anaphoric operator were scarce in both cases, it is hard to provide a further analysis to this matter but it is an interesting topic for future research.

In conclusion, this section has showed the formation of the two syntactic reciprocal constructions in NMH and has discussed the difference in usage and meaning between them. The main differences can be summarized as following:

a) the consultants made use only of the *zedzik ə masik* construction in cases in which they clearly specified the existence of two separate entities , b) the consultants used only the *i mas* reciprocal construction when the reciprocal action was clearly not done concomitantly but in succession, c) *edzik ə masik* never occurred in possessive reciprocal constructions whereas, the *i mas* anaphoric operator occurs and d) *i mas* construction co-occurs more frequently with verbs marked morphologically for reciprocity than *edzik ə masik* construction.

In chapter 7 these two constructions will be analyzed thoroughly, looking at the different predicates which can occur in these constructions and see if one can provide a generalization as to which verbs express reciprocity only by using the syntactic reciprocal marker. Furthermore, as NMH is a so called two-form reciprocal language, i.e. it has two reciprocal forms, the so called heavy⁶⁵ and light⁶⁶ form, chapter 7 will discuss the difference in distribution in the two forms. Does the light reciprocal marker appear with specific kind of verb meanings? Moreover, cases in which the same verbs can express reciprocity by using both the middle and the syntactic reciprocal marker will be analyzed. Is there a change in the meaning the constructions express or is the usage interchangeable?

6.4.2 The Syntactic Middle Reflexive construction

In order to express reflexivity the anaphoric operator *maga/mɔga/mɔgɔ* which means ‘own/alone/by oneself’ is used. The anaphoric operator declines for person and for number. It can take different case markers. Although there are 14

⁶⁵ Heavy in the sense that it has a greater number of phonological weight.

⁶⁶ Light in the sense that it has fewer phonological segments and it is cliticized or bound to a lexical root generally a verb.

grammatical cases in NMH, the reflexive anaphoric operator occurred in the database only in the Accusative (20 instances), Dative (14 instances), Sublative (36 instances), Ablative (15 instances), and Inessive/Illative (1 case). Moreover, in most cases the syntactic reflexive construction is formed by using the active form of the verb and the reflexive operator. Nevertheless, out of the 14 datively marked syntactic reflexive middle constructions 10 were formed not with the active form of the verb but with the middle form of the verb and out of the 14 Ablative instances 4 were formed with the verb in its middle form, as illustrated in (400) and (407) respectively.

Declension of the reflexive operator

	1S	2S	3S	3PL
ACC	məgəmət	məgədət	magat məgat	məgikət
DAT	məgəmnək magamnək		maganək məganək	
SUBL	məgəmro məgəmrə	məgədro	magarə məgarə	məgikro
ABL	məgəmtul		magatul məgatul	məgiktul
ILL/INESS			magabə	

Table 66 Declension of the reflexive operator maga

The following sentences exemplify some of the usages of the syntactic reflexive middle construction in NMH, such as reflexive usage in (398), (399), and (401), middle emphatic usages as in (400), indirect reflexives (benefactive) as in (402)⁶⁷, and spontaneous usage as in (406). Chapter 8 will present a thorough analysis of the functions of the syntactic reflexive middle constructions

⁶⁷ Indirect reflexive middle involves an action in which the effect of the action accrues back to the Initiator.

looking at each case marking separately. As for now the following are just few examples.

Accusative form

(398)

seretəm **məgəm-ət** ʃet latudzom zoglindabə
 like.1S self.1S-ACC when look.MID.1S mirror.ILLIN

‘I like myself when I look at myself into the mirror’

(399)

εz ε dʒermək veri maga-t
 this the boy hit.3S self.3S-ACC

‘This boy is hitting himself’

Dative form

(400)

ʃəpəludik maga-nək
 hit.MID.3S self.3S-DAT

‘He is hitting himself’

(401)

be ytɛ kest maga-nək

PREV stab.3S.PST knife self.3S-DAT

‘He stabbed himself’

Sublative form

(402)

nem ʃant səm:isket mɔga-rə

no do.3S.PST anything.ACC self.3S-SUBL

‘(That king was so spoilt that) he wouldn't do anything for himself’

(403)

muntə kə y urə mɔga-rə sərviludzik

say.3.S.PST that she can self.3S-SUBL serve.MID.3S

‘She said that she is able to serve for herself (food)’

(404)

mæg heʎetɛ bitʃikletat maga-rə

PREV repair.3S.PST bycycle.ACC self.3S-SUBL

‘He repaired the bike by himself / without help’

Ablative form

(405)

kældarus	tɛli	ult	viz-vɛl	sə
ɛl	mutaltə	maga-tul		
bucket	full	be.3S.PST	water- INST	and
away	move.3S.PST	self.3S-ABL		

‘The bucket was full of water and she moved it by herself/without help’

(406)

maga-tul	ɛl	romlot
self.3S-ABL	PREV	brake.3S.PST

‘It broke on its own’

(407)

ni	hɔsitudik,	hɔsitudik	ɛl	magatul
look	split.MID.3S,	split.MID.3S.PRED	away	self.3S-ABL

‘Look it is getting split, it is splitting by itself’

Sentences such as (404) and (405) which imply different types of readings will be discussed in great detail in chapter 8, as well.

The English translation for both sentences (404) and (405) above was ‘doing something by oneself without any help, nevertheless, the case marking used on the reflexive middle operator is different, Sublative and Ablative respectively. An explanation to this different case marking can be the semantics of the verb and the meaning of the case itself. The verb ‘move’ shows movement from a particular place hence the consultant used the Ablative form of the reflexive anaphoric operator *magatul*; whereas, verbs such as ‘repair’, ‘paint’ do not have any intrinsic meaning of movement from a place to another one, hence the consultant used the Sublative reflexive anaphoric operator *magarə*, hence expressing more achieving a particular destination, metaphorically in this case achieving the goal of repairing something without any help by themselves.

Another important topic to investigate is the difference between the Accusative marked syntactic reflexive construction and the Dative syntactic accusative constructions. Are there differences in the form and function of these constructions? As such sentences existed in the database one can claim that the DAT construction is mostly used for emphatic purposes but this as well will be discussed in chapter 8.

Finally, one would need to compare the syntactic reflexive middle constructions and the morphological reflexive middle constructions and figure out if there is a difference in the type of predicates that can take one or the other, and if the same predicates can express reflexivity using both strategies then is there a difference in meaning and usage? Hence, here again the question is: is there a difference in distribution in the two forms (heavy and light).

The following type of constructions and much more will be under discussion in chapter 8.

(408)

εz ε bubə nɛm erz-yd-ik jul

this the child not feel-MID-3S well

‘This child doesn’t feel well’

(409)

εz ε bubə nɛm erzi mɔga-t jul

this the child not feel.3S self-ACC well

‘This child doesn’t feel (himself) well’

(410)

kuʃɔ mɛg mɔr-ud-ɔt

dog PREV bit-MID-3S.PST

‘The dog bit himself’

(411)

mɔrjɔ maga-t

bite.3S.PRED self-ACC

‘It is biting itself’

In conclusion, the purpose of the present section 6.4.2 was to briefly introduce the syntactic strategy to express reflexive middles in NMH. Moreover, it discussed the different types of situations one can express with the reflexive operator such as indirect reflexives, spontaneous situations and so on. Finally, the topics which will be analyzed in detail in chapter 8 were introduced, such as:

a) which verbs can express reflexivity by using both the middle and the syntactic reflexive; is there a change in the meaning the constructions express or is the usage interchangeable, b) If a middle construction can be expressed by using the active form of the verb or by using the morphological middle form of the verb is there a difference in meaning and function, and c) in which cases a co-occurrence of morphological and syntactic reflexivity in the same construction is possible.

6.5 Lexical Middles

This section serves as an introduction to the more detailed analysis of lexical middles which will be provided in chapters 7 and 8 when discussing reciprocal and reflexive middles respectively. It introduces the notion of lexical middles looking at lexical reciprocals, lexical reflexives, and change in body posture lexical middles.etc. **Lexical middles** are usually predicates that express a middle meaning by themselves without necessary a grammatical marking. They defer from **middle deponents** which are predicates with a middle meaning but are grammatically marked for middles and lack a corresponding non-mutual base form.

6.5.1 Lexical reciprocals

When looking at lexical reciprocals I follow Knjazez (2007) and divide lexical reciprocals into a couple of morphological subtypes: a) underived reciprocals which are lexical reciprocals in the narrow sense of the word hence do not contain any reciprocal marker b) deponents or semi-deponents are words

that despite the presence of a reciprocal marker, either lack a corresponding non-reciprocal counterpart or diverge in particular ways from its meaning and finally the so called c) odd reciprocal derivatives which refer to those reciprocals which are related to their non-reciprocal counterparts in marginal patterns.

a) Underived Reciprocals

(412)

hasul	ε	dzermek,	vesi	ε	sip	Λεapt
marry.3S		the boy,	take.3S		the nice	girl.ACC

‘The boy is getting married; he is marrying this nice girl.’

b) Deponents and Semi-Deponents

I consider the verb *vereked* to be a semi-deponent because although it has a non-middle marked counterpart which is *ver*, the meaning slightly diverges. The active form of the verb always means ‘hit’, ‘beat’; whereas, the reciprocally marked verb has only the meaning of ‘fight’ it can also only be verbal fighting.

(413)

ver-eked-nek ε zεbid-byl, ha ju (middle)

fight-MID-3PL the food-ELA, if good

‘They are fighting over food, (if it is) good.’

(414)

mεg verte i botvol ə loot

PREV beat.3S.PST a stick.INST the horse.ACC

‘He beat the horse with a stick.’

c) Odd reciprocal Derivatives

The following example illustrates an odd reciprocal derivative as the reciprocally marked verb is only marginally related to its non-reciprocal counterpart.

(415)

Λap **od-ud-ik** sə vesi i sip legiŋ

girl give-MID-3S, and take.3S a nice young.man

‘The girl is getting married, she is taking a nice young man.’

(416)

te nem mig **adad** ε vejəd-nek ε bitfikletadat
 you not give.2S the son.in.law-DAT the bike.2POSS.ACC

‘You don't give your son-in-law your bike.’

In chapter 7 each type will be discussed in detail looking at the semantic of the predicates which occur in each type of reciprocal construction. The meanings of lexical reciprocals, such as general relations (identity or difference as in ‘their views are similar’, ‘something coincides with something else), spatial relations (proximity or remoteness as in ‘to border on’, and relation between people such as ‘befriended’, ‘to meet’, ‘to marry’ are going to be discussed. I will also look at their diathesis, i.e. are the subject-oriented or object-oriented.

Finally, a general analysis of the lexical reciprocals in comparison with the syntactic reciprocals and the morphological reciprocals of NMH will be provided, looking at their form and function, situation types and semantic domains they are covering.

6.5.2 *Lexical reflexives*

Generally, lexical middle reflexives (including deponents and semi-deponents) fall into specifically semantically defined verb classes or better said semantic situations such as grooming or body care verbs. Change in body posture verbs. Non-translational motion verbs, indirect middles, reciprocals (as illustrated in section 6.4.1), translational motion, emotional middles, cognition middles and so on. Hence, the question is what is the set of predicates in NMH that expresses a reflexive situation by itself without being grammatically marked or being marked but not having a unmarked counterpart or as semi-deponents are having one but whose meaning deviates from the original meaning significantly?

The following examples will show that NMH lexical middles can be divided into four main classes: a) motion (translational, non-translational and change in body posture), b) change of mental state (cognition, emotive and emotion situations), c) spontaneous events, and d) self directed actions such as direct and indirect body care.

*Motion situations types**Change in body posture Lexical Middles*

(417)

bikə yl hatond

frog sit.3S on.back

‘The frog is sitting on its back.’

(418)

en lɛ ɲultəm ə zaɲbə

I down lie.1S.PST the bed.ILLIN

‘I lay down in the bed.’

Non-translational motions

(419)

ɲujtozik kə əlut jul

stretch.3S because sleep.3S.PST well

‘He stretches because he slept well.’

(420)

hɔjɔl lɛ

bend.3S down

‘She bends down.’

Change of mental state

(421)

bubɔ nɛm fɛlɛjtɛtɛɛ ɛl ə zɔɲat

child not forget.3S.PST away the mother

‘The child did not forget his mother.’

The following two examples are deponents they have a middle morphology but no non-marked form of the verb could be found in the database.

(422)

tʃudal-kəzik sə sipər-vɔl ə kɛz-i-bɛ

wonder-MID.3S and mug-INS the hand-3S.GEN-ILLIN

‘He is wondering with the mug in his hand.’

(423)

εz ε zεɲim nɛm latɔm hoʃ piŋɟil-kəzɪk
 this the my not see-PST-1S that lie.in.wait-MID.3S

‘I didn't see how my husband was lying in wait.’

Self directed actions : direct and indirect body care

(424)

ɔ λaɲ fɛl vɛtkɛzɛtɔ
 the girl PREV dress.3S.PST

‘The girl dressed up.’

This verb as well has no non-middle counterpart.

In chapter 8 lexical reflexives will be discussed in more detail dividing them into different classes such as deponenents, semi-deponenents, and odd-deponenents. The semantic of the predicates which occur with the reflexive meaning will be looked at pinpointing different tendencies as to the type of the predicates that can occur in this group. For example, there seem to be more motion lexical middles than self directed actions lexical middles. As reflexive deponenents can occur with

both *ked/kez* middle marker and *ud/yd* middle marker, the differences between these groups will be checked as well. Namely, tendencies have been observed regarding the frequency of lexical middles with each of these two middle markers.

6.6 Conclusion

In conclusion the present chapter discussed the different strategies used to express the middle voice in NMH, such as morphological, syntactic and lexical middles. The kinds of situation types that figure in the middle system of NMH have been introduced such as a) motion (translational, non-translational and change in body posture), b) change of mental state (cognition, emotive and emotion situations, perception), c) spontaneous events, d) self directed actions such as direct and indirect body care, e) reciprocal situations, and f) impersonal situations. The three morphological middle suffixes *ud/yd*, *ked/kez*, and *ul/yl* were discussed as to their form and function, providing a generalization of the semantic situations each middle suffix expresses. So for example, the *ud/yd*

rarely appears in spontaneous situations but does appear in reflexive, reciprocals, experiencer, movement, and impersonal middles. It never occurred in change of mental state situations. The *ul/yI* only occurred in spontaneous events and *kɛd/kɛz* occurred most frequently in reciprocal events, but also in reflexive, change of mental states (internal processes), motion situations, and in very few cases in spontaneous events. Moreover, when relevant to the discussion I have discussed two types of important data that supported the assumption that the best way to achieve a generalization of the semantics of the different morphological middles, was to look at the construction itself and not to the parts of speech or their semantic properties the three middle suffixes attach to. In other words, I looked at situations in which the same verb can occur with more than one middle suffix and at situations in which the active form of the verb and the middle form of the verb seem to have the same meaning. I concluded that when the middle construction was used with a verb such as ‘think’ the meaning was more of an internal process the thinking involved a stronger change in a mental state, i.e.

‘thinking about something because one is interested in it and wants to know more about it or because one is worried or suspicious about it; whereas, the active form of the verb was used to express an opinion’.

Regarding syntactic middles it has been shown that they can be formed by using two reciprocal anaphoric operators such as *zedzik ə masik* or *i mas*, and one reflexive operator the *maga/məga/məgə*. The formation of these three anaphoric operators was discussed, as well as the semantic situations they cover. In the case of the syntactic reciprocal middles I have looked at cases in which the reciprocal anaphoric operators seem to occur interchangeably with no difference in meaning. It has been shown that there are main differences between them such as a) the consultants made use only of the *zedzik ə masik* construction in cases in which they clearly specified the existence of two separate entities , b) the consultants used only the *i mas* reciprocal construction when the reciprocal action was clearly not done concomitantly but in succession, c) *edzik ə masik* never occurred in possessive reciprocal constructions whereas,

the *i mas* anaphoric operator occurs and d) *i mas* construction co-occurs more frequently with verbs marked morphologically for reciprocity than *edžik ə masik construction*. In the case of the reflexive anaphoric operator it has been shown the different semantic situation it is used to express, such as direct reflexives, indirect reflexives (with benefactive meaning), emphatic cases as well as spontaneous events. The different case marking of the reflexive anaphoric operator and its contribution to the change in meaning of the whole construction was also under brief discussion. Finally, lexical middles were introduced. Following Knjazev (2007) deponents are seen as a type of lexical middles. Examples of different morphological subtypes of lexical reciprocals and lexical reflexives as well as the semantic situations they cover were provided. Hence, this chapter serves as an overview chapter of the way middle voice is expressed in NMH. It is an introductory chapter for the more detailed analyses of these constructions in the subsequent chapters 7 and 8.

Finally, the semantic range of the middle domain in NMH was presented.

The relation between the situation types was summed up considering first reflexive middles and their relation regarding two-participant events and on-participants events. Then the semantic relations between the reflexive middles and the other middle situations was analyzed taking into consideration semantic parameters such as (1) the confinement of the action within the agent's sphere, (2) the degree of volitionality of the Initiator/Agent, and (3) the degree of affectedness of the Initiator/Agent.

Chapter 7: Reciprocal constructions in NMH

7.0 Introduction

Reciprocal events have been a topic of research for some time. The term reciprocal event has been used both for **meanings** as in expressions such as reciprocal situation, reciprocal event and for **forms** as in reciprocal construction, reciprocal marker, reciprocal verb, reciprocal predicate. Haspelmath 2007 proposes that there should be different terms for meaning and form, as there are in cases such as proposition and participant when one talks about meaning and sentence and argument when one discusses about form. Hence, since all reciprocals express a situation with mutual relation, Haspelmath proposes the term **mutual** for the semantic plane, and the term **reciprocal** for specialized expression patterns that code a mutual situation. Hence, a mutual situation⁶⁸ is defined as a situation with two or more participants A and B in which for at least two of the participants A and B, the relation between A and B is the same as the

⁶⁸ Even though in this paper we will still use the term reciprocal for both meaning and form we feel that this introduction is of explanatory importance as it clarifies the a lot of terms for the reader.

relation between B and A. Thus, *Aisha pinched Pedro* (Haspelmath 2007:2088) conveys a non-mutual situation; whereas, *Aisha and Pedro pinched each other* and *Aisha pinched Pedro and Pedro pinched Aisha* convey a mutual situation because Aisha is both agent and patient and so is Pedro. Finally, there are also mutual situations in which only two of the participants are in mutual relation as in *Pedro told Aisha and Lisi a secret about **each other***. As seen so far mutnants⁶⁹ are expressed by the arguments of a reciprocal construction, but most languages also allow the expression of a mutual situation in which only one of the mutnants is expressed overtly as in *your proposal is very different*⁷⁰ and *my friend Pedro got married*⁷¹.

Figure 5 cited from Haspelmath (2007:2090) summarizes the different ways in which languages deal with mutual situations.

⁶⁹ Mutnants is the proposed term for the participants in a mutual situation or standing in a mutual relation to each other.

⁷⁰The second mutnant must be understood as for example ‘different from my previous proposal’.

⁷¹The second mutnant must be understood as for example someone else which in this case remains implicit.

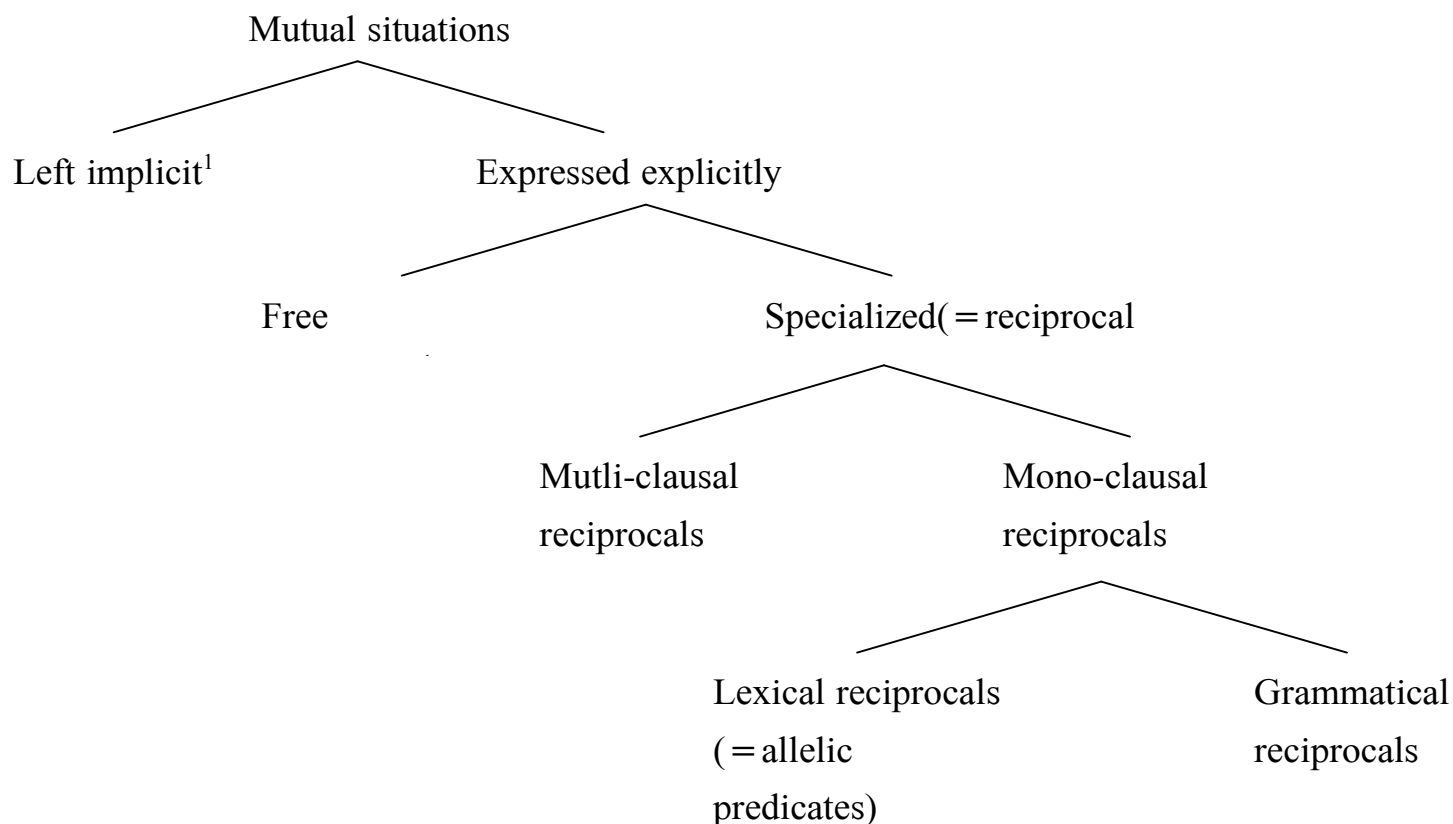


Figure 5 Different ways of mutual situations (Haspelmath 2007 2090)

This chapter focuses on mono-clausal reciprocals in NMH discussing both grammatical reciprocals (which include both morphological reciprocals and syntactic reciprocals) and lexical reciprocals. Lexical reciprocals also called by some linguists allelic predicates can be defined as predicates that express a mutual configuration by themselves, without necessarily a grammatical marker but may occur with one in which case they are called deponents. They consist of

a semantically restricted set of predicates whose meanings in a lot of languages fall into the class of **social relations** such as *marry, quarrel, friend, fight, meet*, **spatial relations** such as *adjoin, next to*, and **relations of identity or non-identity** such as *same as, different from, resemble* etc. Finally, it mostly focuses on simple reciprocal constructions but when relevant discontinuous reciprocals will be under discussion as well. Discontinuous reciprocal constructions are constructions in which the mutuanants are expressed by two different arguments as in *Hans schlägt sich mit Paul/lit. Hans hits each other **with** Paul* (Haspelmath 2007:2091).

This chapter is an elaboration of chapter 6 in which the different ways of expressing middle voice in NMH were discussed. In Chapter 6 it has been shown that there are three ways to express reciprocity in NMH, morphologically, syntactically and lexically. The two middle markers by means of whom reciprocal situations can be expressed are *kəd/kez*, and *ud/yd* were under discussion. It has been shown that the *kəd/kez* middle marker is used to also

convey reflexive situations, mental/internal processes, movement middle and that the *ud* middle marker is used to express also reflexive, spontaneous, experience, impersonal, and movement situations. Hence, these middle markers do not by themselves signal reciprocity. Thus, in most cases reciprocity can be inferred from a plural subject or better said an inflected verb in the plural. The topics discussed in the next sessions are: a) the standard relation of reciprocity, b) which verbs take a middle marker to express reciprocity and which ones cannot, and c) the differences or non-differences between the two middle markers expressing reciprocity.

The second way to express reciprocity in NMH is by using one of the two reciprocal anaphors, *zedzik/zedzik/edzik/edzik ə masik* and *i mas*. In chapter 6 I have looked at the differences between these two anaphoric operators. In this chapter these constructions will be examined in more detail regarding the different predicates which can occur in these constructions attempting to provide a generalization as to which verbs express reciprocity only by using the syntactic

reciprocal marker. Moreover, cases in which the same verbs can express reciprocity by using both the middle and the syntactic reciprocal marker will be analyzed. Is there a change in the meaning the constructions express or is the usage interchangeable? Thus, are there differences in the meaning and distribution between the light and the heavy middle forms? Last but not least, lexical reciprocals will be discussed.

7.1 Morphological reciprocals in NMH

In the broader sense the reciprocal meaning is semantically and in some cases genetically related to the reflexive, sociative, and iterative meanings. This is why across a large number of languages one can observe three basic types of markers whose polysemy may include the reciprocal meaning: a) **reflexive-reciprocal** polysemy (like in Romanian *Ei se privesc* ‘They look at themselves (e.g. in the mirror) /they look at each other’), b) **reciprocal-sociative** polysemy (like in Yakut *kor* ‘to see, look’ → *kor-us-* ‘to see each other/ to see something or somebody together’Nedjalkov 2007), c) **iterative-reciprocal** polysemy (like in

Chinese **da-lai-da-qu** (*da* = ‘beat’ i. beat each other, ii. Fight several times repeatedly M.Liu 1999 cited from Nedjalkov 2006). Each of the three basic types of polysemy covering reciprocity may also include other meanings, either to a greater or lesser degree idiosyncratic for each or shared by at least two types of polysemy.

The polysemy of the *ked/kez*, and *ud/yd* middle markers was discussed in in chapter 6. Subject-oriented meanings such as reflexive proper, reflexive-possessive, or reflexive-benefactive, reciprocals as well as autocausatives such as the motion situations, ‘*he stood up*’, and experience constructions ‘*the boy is afraid of the dog*’ were presented. Moreover, object-oriented meanings such as anti-causatives, as ‘*the stick broke*’, and passive-like meanings as ‘*from here the mountain can be seen easily*’ were under discussion. Now the analysis will focus only on the cases in which the subject is plural and has a reciprocal meaning or the common **reciprocal-reflexive** polysemy meaning.

This section will be organized as follows. Firstly, the list of predicates which express reciprocity by using these two middle markers will be provided. The following topics will be under discussion: a) verbs in which by default the reciprocal meaning overrules the reflexive or other meanings when used with a plural subject, b) verbs which will usually take a reflexive meaning, and finally c) verbs in which there is reflexive-reciprocal polysemy. Secondly, the meanings of these two constructions when the same verb can occur with both middle markers will be compared.

7.2 Subject-oriented diathesis types of reciprocal constructions with the middle markers *ked/kez*, and *ud/yd*

All reciprocal verbs with the middle markers *ked/kez*, and *ud/yd* can be divided into two main categories a) **Category A** which comprises verbs with the middle marker which enter into a standard reciprocal relation with the base verb; they may also have reflexive meaning such as *in bubak fipylydnek* 'the kids are

pinching each other or the kids are pinching themselves b) **Category B** which comprises lexical reciprocals such as *eskedik* ‘get married’.

7.2.1 Category A Verbs

The verbs in category A can be further subdivided into three main groups.

A1. Reciprocal Meaning by default

The reciprocal meaning overrules the reflexive or other meanings when used with a plural subject. In many languages these are verbs such *embraced each other*/**themselves*, *yell at each other*, *greet each other*, *hit each other*, *like each other*, *bump into each other*, *ignore each other*, *appreciate each other*, *praise each other* etc. As there are two morphological middle markers by means of whom morphological reciprocal situations are expressed table 66 provides the list of verbs with the *ud/yd* middle marker and table 67 with the *ked/kez* middle marker.

ud/yd middle marker

Verb	English translation/Meaning
gøntfilydnæk	they push each other
kerylydynk	they avoid each other
ʃɔpɔludnøk	they hit each other
løkdøsydnæk	they push each other
salutaludnøk	they greet each other
bəsilydnæk	They chat/talk to each other
dylylydnæk ⁷²	They hate each other

Table 67 Reciprocal Meaning by default with ud/yd marked verbs

(425)

buba-k ʃɔpɔl-ud-nøk

child-PL hit-MID-3PL

‘The kids are hitting each other’

(426)

ɛzæk ə bubak nem dɔrikøk ørøk:i løkdøsydnæk

these the child.PL not well-behaved.3PL always push.MID.3PL

‘These kids are not well-behaved; they are always pushing each other.’

⁷² Although verbs such as dylylik ‘hate’ s r tik ‘like,love’ can also be part of the A2 group which comprises verbs that have reflexive-reciprocal polysemy, in the data these verbs only occurred with a reciprocal meaning.

(427)

mikor dzylnək se meg latudnək ok:or salutaludnək
 when meet.3PL and PREV see.MID.3PL then greet.MID.3PL

‘When they meet and they see each other, they greet each other.’

ked/kez middle marker

Verb	English translation/meaning
ʃufolkodnək	They are mocking each other
morokodnək	they bite each other
dʒiʃirkednek	they are bragging to each other
verəkednek ⁷³	they hit/beat/fight (with) each other
ysmerkednek	they know each other
hɔjolkodnək	they bow one in front of the other
dʒylkeznək/ʃylkeznək	they meet each other
kərdyskedynek	they are asking around/asking each other

Table 68 Reciprocal Meaning by default with k d/k z marked verbs

⁷³ This verb was under discussion in chapter 6 section 6.5.1 and claimed that although it has a non-middle marked counterpart which is ‘v r’, this verb will be considered as part of the lexical middle group, as a semi-deponent because the meaning of the middle verb slightly diverges from its active counterpart. The active form of the verb always means ‘hit’, ‘beat’; whereas, the reciprocally marked verb has only the meaning of ‘fight’ it can also only be verbal fighting.

(428)

en ysmerem ɔzt ə zember-t [active]

I know.1S that the man-ACC

‘I know that man.’

(429)

yk ysmer-kəd-nək riktyl [middle]

they know-MID-3PL long.time

‘They have known each other for a long time.’

(430)

hɔjəl lɛ [active]

bend.3S down

‘She bends down.’

(431)

yk hɔjəl-kəd-nək edʒik ə masik ɛlyt [middle]

they bow-MID-3PL one the other in.front

‘They bow one in front of the other.’

After looking at all the light-marked reciprocal verbs one can sum up that verb meanings frequently represented by light-marked reciprocal verbs fall into a number of classes: atagonistic actions (fight, push, hit, bite), affectionate actions (hate), encountering and associated social actions (meet, greet, know), agreement or disagreement of interlocution (talk, chat, mock, ask around, brag). Moreover, a difference between the light-marked reciprocal verbs with *kɛd/kɛz* and light marked reciprocal verbs with *ud/yd* has been noticed and the following generalization can be made: a) more verbs of atagonistic actions such as different words for ‘pushing’, ‘hitting’, occurred with the *ud/yd* middle marker than with the *kɛd/kɛz* middle marker, b) speech act verbs/emotion verbs/cognitive such ‘mocking’, ‘bragging’, ‘knowing’ occur more frequently with the *kɛd/kɛz* middle marker c) as will be shown in 7.2.2 lexical reciprocals (deponents and semi-deponents) are mostly marked with the *kɛd/kɛz* middle marker but some cases of odd-deponents are marked with *ud/yd* middle marker.

A2. Reciprocal-reflexive polysemy

The similarity between the two uses is the fact that in both cases each participant is both an Initiator and Endpoint. The difference is that in the case of the reciprocal situation two separate entities are linked in a pair of inverse relations, whereas, the reflexive entities involve a relation in which the Initiator and the Endpoint are one and the same.

This group comprises verbs in which no definite decision can be taken with regard to a reciprocal vs. a reflexive default. *We looked at each other, at ourselves/, we licked each other, licked ourselves clean.* Of course, in the database this group was not so large in number because in most cases the meaning was disambiguated from the context.

Verb	English translation
ʃipylydnək	they pinch each other/pinch themselves
ɲɔludnək	they lick each other/lick themselves
ytyt:ɛtək	you(PL) killed each other/you killed yourselves

Table 69 Examples of Reciprocal-reflexive polysemy

(432)

bubak ʃipyl-yd-nək

kid.PL pinch-MID-3PL

‘The kids are pinching each other / pinching themselves’

(433)

latək ket kuʃa-t ot se ɲɔl-ud-nək

see.1S two dog-ACC there and lick-MID-3PL

‘I see two dogs and they are licking each other/licking themselves’

(434)

tyk mɛg ytyt:ɛtɛk⁷⁴

you.PL PREV kill.MID.2PL.PST

‘You killed yourselves.’

I could not find any examples in my database conveying reflexive-reciprocal polysemy with verbs marked with the *kɛd/kɛz* middle marker.

A3. Reflexive meaning overrules reciprocal meaning

This group comprises verbs in which by default the reflexive meaning overrules the reciprocal one. In most cases however, the reciprocal meaning remains possible but requires contextual support such as the Romanian, *unul pe altul* ‘each other’ or the German *gegenseitig* ‘mutually’. In NMH these are verbs such as ‘to rub’, ‘to clean’, ‘to wash oneself’, ‘to praise oneself’ etc.

⁷⁴ The underlying form is yt-yd-t- k kill-MID-PST-3PL

Verb	English translation/meaning
hɛʎɛtydʒynk ⁷⁵	we seat ourselves
fɛnydnɛk	they rub/smear themselves
mosudnɔk	they wash themselves
fysylydnɛk	they comb themselves
dʒɪʃirkɛdnɛk	they praise themselves i.e. they brag

Table 70 Examples of verbs where the Reflexive meaning overrules reciprocal meaning

As can be seen the vast majority of the verbs in this group are grooming and body care verbs⁷⁶. In order for these type of verbs to get a reciprocal reading only the syntactic reciprocal constructions can be used i.e. the use of the anaphoric operators *zedʒik/zedʒik/ɛdʒik/edʒik ə masik* and *i mas* is obligatory. When they occur with the middle morphological markers the meaning is always reflexive.

⁷⁵ h tyd ynk l / let's get seated/ lit. let's seat ourselves (and not let's seat each other)

⁷⁶ Grooming verbs always occur with the *ud/yd* middle marker and never with the *kɛd/kɛz* marker. *The only grooming verb that occurred with the middle marker kɛd/kɛz was the deponent verb vɛtkɛzik* 'to dress onself'.

(435)

mig fən-yd-nək parkə borotval-kəz-nək

there smear-MID-3PL as.if shave-MID-3PL

‘They are smearing themselves, as if they are shaving.’

(never they are smearing each other)

(436)

dʒerməkik mos-ud-nək

boy.PL wash-MID-3PL

‘The boys are washing themselves.’

(437)

ʎapəskak fɪsylyt:ək

girl.PL comb.MID.3PL

‘The girls combed themselves.’

There were however, cases in which the consultant made the attempt to use the middle form of the verb to convey a reciprocal meaning. In these cases the consultants felt the need to add some contextual support such as adding the

reciprocal operator *i mas*, or *zedzik ə masik*. Nevertheless, they usually continued and changed the sentence, by using the simple syntactic construction

Active verb form plus reciprocal operator.

(438)

dʒerməkik	mos-ud-nək	i	mas-t
boy.PL	wash-MID-3PL	a	other-ACC

‘The boys are washing each other.’

(439)

dʒerməkik	mos:ak	i	mas-t
boy.PL	wash.3PL	a	other-ACC

‘The boys washed each other.’

(440)

ʁapəskak	fysylyt:ək	edzik	ə	maskikət
girl.PL	comb.MID.3PL	one	the	other.PL.ACC

‘The girls combed one another.’

(441)

ʎanəʃkak fɥsylik edʒik ə masikət
 girl.PL comb.3PL one the other.ACC

‘The girls comb one another.’

In the case of the verb *dʒiʃir* ‘praise’ when it occurs with the middle morphological marker *kɛd* the meaning is reflexive ‘they praised themselves/they bragged’; however, when it occurs with the anaphoric operator *i mas* the meaning is reciprocal as in ‘the neighbors are praising each other’; it can never have the reflexive meaning ‘they are praising themselves’.

(442)

ɛz nɛm munʃə kə kitʃikɛ sə vijɛk ɔzək dʒiʃir-kɛd-nɛk
 the not say.3S that tiny and old those praise-MID-3PL

‘He won’t say it is tiny and the old ones are bragging.’

(443)

midʒesek dʒiʃirik i mast

neighbor.PL praise.3PL a other.ACC

‘The neighbors are praising each other.’

This sentence can never have the reflexive meaning of the neighbors were praising themselves/bragging.

As previously discussed, verbs that are marked with the middle marker *kɛd/kɛz* and *ud/yd* convey different meanings such as, reflexive, reciprocal, movement verbs (translational and non-translational) etc. A reciprocal event is one in which two participants equally act upon each other, all the verbs that occur with the two middle markers *kɛd/kɛz* and *ud/yd* with a plural subject/agent in the database were checked. The revealing conclusion is that despite the polysemy of the two middle markers in NMH, there are reciprocal verbs with a plural subject which encode a reciprocal relation by default. Only with very few verbs of all verbs was the reflexive reciprocal reading not disambiguated by the morphological form alone or by the context.

Comparison between *kɛd/kɛz* and *ud/yd* morphological reciprocals

It has been shown until now that although both middle markers can be used to express reciprocal situations there are some differences such as a) more verbs of impact by force such as different words for ‘pushing’, ‘hitting’, occurred with the *ud/yd* middle marker than with the *kɛd/kɛz* middle marker, b) speech act verbs/emotion verbs such ‘mocking’, ‘bragging’ occur more frequently with the *kɛd/kɛz* middle marker c) reflexive-reciprocal polysemy only occurred with verbs marked with the *ud/yd* middle marker never the *kɛd/kɛz* marker.

Finally, let us look at cases in which the same verb can occur with both middle markers. In these cases it is always the middle marker *kɛd/kɛz* that will take the reciprocal meaning; whereas the middle marker *ud/yd* will express the middle reflexive meaning as illustrated below.

(444)

ɛzɛk	ə	kufak	mɔr-ɔkɔd-nɔk
this.PL	the	dog.PL	bit-MID-3PL

‘The dogs are biting each other.’

(445)

εzek ə kuʃak mər-ud-nək

this.PL the dog.PL bit-MID-3PL

‘The dogs are biting themselves.’

The verb *ʃufəl* has two more variants one *ʃufəl**kə**dik* and the other one *ʃufəl**lu**dik*. The meaning of the verb *ʃufəl* means to mock someone, to hate someone as illustrated below.

(446)

ε ʃufəlt mast, most met kəl:ət: lɛ ʃufəld
the mock someone.else, now why AUX.need.PST down mock.2S

‘He mocked someone else, now why did you have to mock him?’

The meaning of the middle verb form *ʃufəl**kə**dik* means to mock someone, to defile someone, ridicule, when the subject is singular number.

(447)

ʃufəl-kod-ot rit:ə
defile-MID-3S.PST SUP.3S

‘He defiled her.’

(448)

ε dʒermək ʃufəl-kəd-ik ə mɔʃkan

the child torture-MID-3S the cat

‘The child is mocking / torturing the cat.’

When the subject is plural the meaning is reciprocal they mock each other but never they mock themselves.

(449)

ʃufəl-kəd-nək

mock-MID-3PL

‘They are mocking each other.’

In the case of the middle verb *ʃufəludik* the meaning is reflexive, to shame oneself.

(450)

lɛ ʃufəl-ud-ot/lɛ ʃufəl-ud-ot maganək,

down mock-MID-3S/down mock-MID-3S self.DAT

muntə kə ʃan sɛ nɛm ʃant sem:it

say.3S.PST but do.3S and not do.3S.PST anything

‘He got ashamed, he said he would do something but he didn't do anything.’

Also in the case of a plural subject only the reflexive meaning was possible.

(451)

ɛl mənt ɛ hire ə varezbə is hoʃ ʃufəl-ud-unk

PREV go.3S the news the city.LOC too that defile-MID-1PL

‘The news that we are shaming ourselves went to the city.’

Hence, the reciprocal meaning is inherently stronger in the case of the *kɛd/kɛz* middle marker than in the case of the *ud/yd* middle marker.

7.2.2 Category B: Lexical Reciprocals

All languages seem to have a substantial number of simple words which denote mutual configurations by themselves without occurring in any kind of special neither morphological nor syntactic construction. These predicates fall into universally semantic classes such as verbs of competition, verbs of connecting, verbs of dividing, verbs of joint action, relationship nouns etc. There is a question to precisely how lexical reciprocals should be defined. Nadjalkov (2007) claims that these are words with an inherent reciprocal meaning including not only non-marked predicates but also reciprocal deponents (*reciproca tantum*), i.e. reciprocal predicates with a reciprocal marker whose base form does not occur without this marker (e.g. French *se bagarrer* ‘fight; but *bagarrer* does not exist on its own cited from Haspelmath 2007:2105). Others such as Knjazev (2007) go one step further and add one further group to the lexical reciprocals which are odd reciprocal derivatives which refer to those reciprocals which are related to their non-reciprocal counterparts in marginal patterns. Lexical

reciprocals can usually be used both in a simple construction⁷⁷ as in *A and B quarreled* and in discontinuous constructions *A quarreled with B*, where there are two arguments.

Reciprocal events may or may not involve several different sub-events. A clear case of multiple sub-events is illustrated in the following sentence *A and B told each other a secret*. In this case there must be two telling events and two secrets involved. Haspelmath 2007 calls them **multiplex mutual events**. However, in *A and B quarreled (with each other)* a single event is possible. One can paraphrase it as *A quarreled with B* or *B quarreled with A* depending on the perspective one wants to take but the situation cannot be said to consist of two sub-events. This type of event is called in Haspelmath 2007 **uniplex mutual events**. Kemmer (1993) discusses these types of event and classifies them as natural reciprocals⁷⁸. So for example a sentence such as *John and Mary kissed*

⁷⁷ The set of mutuanths is expressed by a single argument.

⁷⁸ A natural reciprocal event is characterized by a low degree of distinguishability of the two events that constitute the relations between participants.

each other may express two separate kissing actions; while a sentence such as *John and Mary kissed* almost certainly conveys only one kiss, namely the kissing action of the two participants is simultaneously and virtually indistinguishable. Hence, the anaphoric reciprocal construction can express a multiplex or a uniplex event but a morphological construction can most certainly express only a uniplex event.

Following Knjazev (2007) lexical reciprocals will be divided into a couple of morphological subtypes: a) underived reciprocals which are lexical reciprocals in the narrow sense of the word hence do not contain any reciprocal marker b) deponents or semi-deponents are words that despite the presence of a reciprocal marker, either lack a corresponding non-reciprocal counterpart or diverge in particular ways from its meaning and finally the so called c) odd reciprocal derivatives which refer to those reciprocals which are related to their non-reciprocal counterparts in marginal patterns. This is called by Kemmer (1993) and Nedjalkov (2007) **weak reciprocal deponents**.

d) Underived Reciprocals

The following are some examples of underived reciprocals in NMH.

Verb	English translation/meaning
hasul	to marry (for a male)
ɛʝɛzik	to agree
dʒyl	to meet
tanaʃəl	to talk/to chat
hal	to have sexual intercourse
mɛg pretʃinosol	to make friends/to befriend with
ɛskɛdik	to marry (for a male)

Table 71 Underived reciprocals

As one can see these underived lexical middles can occur in both simple reciprocal constructions and discontinuous reciprocals as illustrated in (452) and (453) respectively. The discontinuous construction is formed with the Instrumental case marker *veɭ*⁷⁹ on the relevant noun argument (453) or with the Instrumental personal pronoun⁸⁰ in (456).

⁷⁹ which gets sometimes reduced to *l*, aal depending on vowel reduction and vowel harmony issues as in (454).

⁸⁰ The pronouns are formed by using the case as a stem and suffixing the possessive endings.

(452)

hasul ε dʒermək, vəsi ε sip ʎeapt
 marry.3S the boy, take.3S the nice girl.ACC

‘The boy is getting married; he is taking this nice girl.’

(453)

vejəm tanaʃəl ε zember-əm-vəl
 son.in.law.1S chat.3S the husband-1POS-INST

‘My son-in-law is chatting with my husband.’

(454)

mamə mæg dʒylt ε dʒerməkɪl sə mæg ʃukəlut:ək
 mother PREV meet.3S.PST the child.PL.INST and PREV kiss.MID.PST

‘Mother met up with her children and they kissed.’

Moreover, a number of reciprocal verbs can be used with a singular Subject in patterns where the other participant is not mentioned, as in I agree and I was still negotiating for the best price, as illustrated below in (455).

(455)

most ylnək vən:ok, mæg eʒztek, nɛm mig vɛsəkɛdnək
 now sit.3PL be.3PL.PST, PREV agree.3PL.PST no fight.3PL

‘Now they are sitting, they agreed, they are not fighting anymore.’

(456)

haʎ vel:ɛm

sleep INST.1S

‘Sleep with me (lit. have sex with me).’

(457)

hulnəp uta zjonel ɛskɛsik

tomorrow after John.INST marry.3S

‘The day after tomorrow John will get married lit. (someone) will get married with John.’

(458)

hulnəprɔ dʒɛrmɛkɛm ɛskɛsik mæg

tomorrow.SUBL son.1S.POS marry.3S PREV

‘Tomorrow my son is getting married.’

(459)

mæg pretʃinosoltəm ɔ druskal

PREV make.friends.1S the little.wedding.helper.girl

‘I made friends with the little_wedding_helper_girl.’

e) Deponents, Semi-Deponents

Verb	English translation/meaning
verəkēdik	to fight
vēsəkēdik	to argue
kontralkēdik	to disagree
ʃukoludik	to kiss

Table 72 Deponents, Semi-Deponents

Vēsəkēdik and *kontralkēdik* are considered to be true deponents because they do not have a non-middle marked counterpart verb; whereas, *verəkēdik* is a semi-deponent deponent because although it has a non-middle marked counterpart which is *ver*, the meaning slightly diverges as illustrated in (464) and (463). The active form of the verb always means ‘hit’, ‘beat’; whereas, the

reciprocally marked verb has only the meaning of ‘fight’ it can also only be verbal fighting.

Here again the lexical middles can occur in both simple and discontinuous reciprocal construction as the following examples show.

Discontinuous reciprocal construction

(460)

miaʎ	ves-eked-ik	ε	zionvəl
Michael	argue-MID-3S	the	John.INST

‘Michael is arguing with John.’

Simple reciprocal construction

(461)

εzek	ə	bubak	ves-eked-nek	hjabə
these	the	child.3PL	argue-MID-3PL	without.reason

‘These children are arguing without a reason.’

(462)

kontral-kəd-ik vel:əm

disagree-MID-3S INST.1S

‘He disagrees with me.’

(463)

ver-ekəd-nek ε zəbid-byɫ, ha ju (middle)

fight-MID-3PL the food-ELA, if good

‘They are fighting over food, (if it is) good.’

(464)

mɛg vɛrtɛ i botvol ə loot (active)

PREV beat.3S.PST a stick.INST the horse.ACC

‘He beat the horse with a stick.’

Here again it can be seen that the same verb can be used with a plural subject or with a singular Subject in patterns where the other participant is not mentioned but still has a reciprocal meaning by default.

(465)

nyk mæg ʃukɔlutunk⁸¹

we PREV kiss.MID.1PL.PST

‘We kissed each other.’

(466)

tatə mæg foktə λɛənt ʃukɔl-ud-ik vɔlə

father PREV catch.3S.PST girl.ACC kiss-MIS-3S be.3S.PST

‘Father caught the girl kissing.’

f) Odd reciprocal Derivatives

The following example illustrates an odd reciprocal derivative as the reciprocally marked verb is only marginally related to its non-reciprocal counterpart.

⁸¹ The underlying form is *uf l-ud-t-unk/kiss-MID-PST-1PL*.

(467)

ʎaŋ ɔd-ud-ik sə vɛsi i sip lɛgiŋ
 girl give-MID-3S, and take.3S a nice young.man

‘The girl is getting married; she is taking a nice young man.’

Discontinuous reciprocal construction

(468)

MIDDLE

ːɔzdɔgɔb ʎaŋ nem ɔdudik ɛl ɛtsːɛr is lɛgːɔzdɔgɔb dʒermɛkvel
 richest girl not marry.3S PREV never richest boy.INST

‘The richest girl never marries the richest boy.’

(469)

ACTIVE

tɛ nem mig ɔdɔd ɛ vɛjɛd-nɛk ɛ bitʃikletadət
 you not give.2S the son.in.law-DAT the bike.2POSS.ACC

‘You don't give your son-in-law your bike.’

(470)

MIDDLE

seretitek i mast veydʒetek, ha nɛm nɛm
 love.2PL a other.ACC marry.MID.2PL, if not not

‘If you like each other get married, if not not.’

(471)

ACTIVE

sə ʎapəʃkə vɛs ki vɔʎəmit ɔ kosarbul
 and girl.DIM take out something.ACC the basket-ELA

‘And the girl is taking out something from the basket.’

In conclusion, it has been shown that in NMH light marked reciprocal verbs consist of a semantically restricted set of predicates whose meanings fall in the class of **social relations** such as the different verbs of marry (depending if it is a male or a female who gets married), fight, agree, disagree, to make friends, meet, have sexual intercourse, and kiss and so on. Hence, the light form is relatively restricted it cannot occur with every transitive root to indicate reciprocal

semantics. Not so the heavy form which is productive and can occur with almost any transitive verb root. However, in NMH at least some verb roots can occur with both the light and the heavy form. Significantly there is a difference in meaning between the verbal event expressed with the heavy form and the one expressed with the light form. This will be discussed in section 7.4.

Moreover, there are two main types of lexical reciprocals in NMH, ones that are not marked with the *ked/kez* and *ud/yd* middle marker but still express a mutual configuration as *hasul*, etc and others that do occur with these grammatical markers. In this case they can be divided them into instances in which no non-marked middle verb exists such as in *vesekedik*, *kontralkedik*, the so called deponents or semi deponents and other cases in which there is a non-marked middle verb but whose meaning is slightly different than the middle marked verb such in *verekedik*, and cases in which the meaning diverges from the non-marked verb as is *ɔdudik* and *veydʒetik*. Furthermore, it has been shown that lexical middles can be expressed in simple reciprocal structures or in

discontinuous reciprocal constructions usually with the second participant marked with the instrumental case or with the second participant being the instrumental personal pronoun. Furthermore, cases of reciprocal verbs which can be used with a singular Subject in patterns where the other participant is not mentioned were exemplified as well. Finally, none of the lexical reciprocal constructions has expressed multiple mutual events. In other words, all lexical deponents express uniplex mutual events. Multiplex mutual events can only be expressed by grammatical reciprocals especially using the anaphoric reciprocal operators.

7.3 Syntactic reciprocal constructions

This section deals with heavy-marked reciprocals. As has been shown above the light form is relatively restricted it cannot occur with every transitive root to indicate reciprocal semantics. Not so the heavy form which is productive and can occur with almost any transitive verb root. However, in NMH at least some verb roots can occur with both the light and the heavy form. Significantly there is a

difference in meaning between the verbal event expressed with the heavy form and the one expressed with the light form. This difference will be under discussion in section 7.4.

A large class of reciprocal constructions contains two arguments that both refer to the entire set of mutnants as the English *the friends trust each other*. This anaphoric expression refers to the same set of entities as the reciprocator, but compared to the reflexive syntactic constructions, the coreference in the parallel situations is more complicated, in the sense that the coreference does not obtain between the sets as wholes but between the individual members of the sets, member A of [the friends] trusts member B of [each other], member B of [the friends] trusts member A of [each other].

In NMH, there are two pronominal collocations functioning as anaphoric reciprocal pronouns, *zedzik ə masik* and *i mas*, as illustrated in (472) and (473) respectively.

(472)

ni vəkər-jak ε **zedzik** ə **masik-ət**
 look scratch-3PL.DEF the One the other-ACC

‘Look they are scratching each other (they have fleas).’

(473)

ʃəpələk/ʃəpəl-jak i mas-t
 hit-3PL.PRES.DEF one other-ACC

‘They hit each other.’

In chapter 6, the formation of these two syntactic reciprocal constructions was introduced. The difference in usage and meaning between them was under discussion. The main differences were summarized as following: a) the consultants made use only of the *zedzik ə masik* construction in cases in which they clearly specified the existence of two separate entities , b) the consultants used only the *i mas* reciprocal construction when the reciprocal action was clearly not done concomitantly but in succession i.e. in cases in which multiplex reciprocal events were in question, c) *edzik ə masik* never occurred in possessive

reciprocal constructions whereas, the *i mas* anaphoric operator occurs, and d) *i mas* construction co-occurs more frequently with verbs marked morphologically for reciprocity than *edzik ə masik construction*.

This section is organized as follows. First, the different diathesis types these two reciprocal anaphoric operators occur in will be introduced. Secondly, the different predicates which can occur in these constructions are provided. Are there verbs that can express mutual situations only by using syntactic reciprocal markers? Thirdly, cases in which the same verbs can express reciprocity by using both the middle and the syntactic reciprocal marker will be analyzed. Is there a change in the meaning the constructions express or is the usage interchangeable?

7.3.1 Range of diathesis types

There seem to be no restrictions on occurrence of *zedzik ə masik* and *i mas* in reciprocal construction of various diathesis types. Both anaphoric operators can be used in reciprocal constructions of all the basic types. They may be both

subject-oriented and *object oriented*. *Subject-oriented reciprocals* can be further subdivided into two types depending on whether the second cross-coreferential participant is a direct or an indirect object a) direct (canonical) reciprocal constructions such *they hate each other* with *each other* marked Accusative, and b) indirect types as in *the neighbors talked to each other* with *each other* marked Dative or any other case marking except Accusative. *Object-oriented reciprocity* occurs in NMH with transitive verbs in which the object argument is an inanimate relation with an animate being. So for example without the *edʒ i mashoz*, sentence (474) would just mean that she rubbed her hands but not necessarily against each other.

(474)

fɛpi	ɛ	keʒɛit		edʒ	i	mashoz
rub	the	hand.3POS.ACC		on	the	other.ALL

‘She is rubbing her hands together.’

i mas reciprocal anaphor in two place relations constructions

a) Taking the place of a direct object

In these cases the reciprocal anaphoric operator is marked with an Accusative case.

Verb	English translation/meaning
dylyl	hate
gøntʃyl	hit
səbjak	hit
səpɔɫak	hit
sɛrɛtik	love
mos	wash
vɛs	take, take out
ʃufɔɫak	mock
mɔr	bite
hɔlgɔs	listen
kɛrylik	avoid
lɔkik	push
fysyl	comb
rikujʃak	holler
dʒifirik	praise
ɲumjak	push

Table 73 i mas reciprocal anaphor - a direct object

(475)

dylylik i mast

hate.3PL. a other.ACC

‘They hate each other.’

(476)

dʒərməkik mæg gøntʃylyt:ək i mast

boy.3PL PREV hit.MID.3PL a other.ACC

‘The boys hit each other.’

b) Taking the place of oblique object – in this case the second argument is marked with Dative, Locative, Instrumental, Sublative, Allative, Ablative etc., as illustrated below.

Verb	English translation/meaning
ytyl	crash
nɛz	look
vɛsɛkɛdik	fight
ak	climb
tʃip/tip	tear, pull
jɛd	scared
bɛsil	talk
sɛmil	resemble

Table 74 i mas reciprocal anaphor - an oblique object

(477)

miʃɛsɛk bɛsilɛk i mas-nək
 neighbor.PL talk.3PL.PST a other-DAT

‘The neighbors talked to each other.’

(478)

bɛ ɣɬɬɛk ə mesinak, i mas-bə
 PREV crash.3PL.PST the car.PL, a one-ILLIN

‘The cars crashed into each other.’

(479)

nɛznɛk rutul i mas-əz
 look.3PL bad a other-ALL

‘They are looking daggers at each other.’

(480)

ɣk mɛg vɛsɛkɛtɛk i mas-vəl
 they PREV fight.3PL.PST a other-INST

‘They fought with each other.’

(481)

ɛl aktək i mas-rə it mit ʃan:ək
 away climb.3PL.PST a other-SUBL and what do.3PL

‘They climbed onto each other and what are they doing.’

(482)

mɛg ʃet:ək i mas-tul ʃet mɛg dʒyltək
 PREV scare.3PL.PST a other-ABL when PREV meet.3PL.PST

‘They got scared from each other when they met.’

Possessive Reciprocals

i mas also occurs in ‘possessive’ reciprocal constructions to describe situations in which in one case there are two pairs of arguments cross-coreferential to each other a subject and an object in which the object covers the role of a patient, recipient or beneficiary and in the second case two possessed entities such as body parts or something in contact with or on its possessor.

These are sentences such as ‘they pulled at each other’s hair’ *zedʒik ə masik*

never occurred in possessive reciprocals. In general this type of reciprocal construction was extremely scarcely in the database.

(483)

nem dɔrikək tipik i mas-nək ə həjikət
not misbehave.3PL, tear.3PL a other-DAT the hair.PL.ACC

‘They are misbehaving. They are pulling each other’s hair.’

***i mas* in three place relations (indirect reciprocals)**

Verb	English translation/meaning
ɔd	give
həlgəs/həl	listen
nɛz	look for/search
mutʃil	show/introduce

Table 75 i mas in three place relations (indirect reciprocals)

(484)

yk ɔtək kadoəkət i masnək
they give.3PL.PST present.PL.ACC a other.DAT

‘They gave each other presents.’

(485)

popok holtøk puvisterikæt i mastul
 priest.PL hear.3PL.PST story.PL.ACC a other.ABL

‘The priests heard stories from each other.’

(486)

nezik volð i masnæk ε tetyket
 look.3PL be.3S.PST a other.DAT the lice.PL.ACC

‘They were searching for lice for each other.’

(487)

zemberek mæg mutfitak ə josipot i masnæk
 man.PL PREV show.3PL.PST the Joseph.ACC a other.DAT

‘The men introduced Joseph to each other.’

***zedzik ə masik* in two place relation constructions**

In a two place relation diathesis the reciprocal anaphoric operator *zedzik ə* *masik* can take the place of a direct object in which case it is marked Accusative or the place of an oblique object in which case it can be marked with Dative,

Instrumental, and Allative. It might be the case that other case markings are possible; nevertheless, these were the cases in my database.

a) Taking the place of a direct object

Verb	English translation/meaning
dylyl	hate
mos	wash
salutal	greet
hølgəs	listen
fysyl	comb
dop	hit
vəkərəzik	scratch
løkik	push
ʃufəl	mock, defile
søk	jump
søb	hit
sərətik	love, like

Table 76 *z d ik* *masik* reciprocal anaphor - a direct object

(488)

dylylik ε zədʒik ə masikət

hate.3PL the one the other.ACC

‘They hate one another.’

(489)

dʒərməkik mostak zədʒik ə masikət
 boy.PL wash.3PL.PST one the other.ACC

‘The boys washed one another.’

(490)

ɛ dʒərməkik salutaɫak zədʒik ə masikət
 the boy.PL greet.3PL one the other.ACC

‘The boys are greeting each other.’

b) Taking the place of oblique object – in this case the second argument is marked with Dative, Instrumental, and Allative.

Verb	English translation/meaning
bəsil	to talk
nɛz	to look
povestil	to tell/to narrate
vɛsɛkɛdik ⁸²	to fight

Table 77 z d ik masik reciprocal anaphor - an oblique object

⁸² Lexical middles can occur with reciprocal anaphoric operators.

(491)

bəsilnək ɛ zɛdʒik ə masiknək telefonbə

talk.3PL the one the other.DAT phone.LOC

‘They are talking over the phone.’

lit. they are talking the one to the other into the phone

(492)

yk mɛg vɛsɛkɛtɛk ɛdʒik ə masikvəl

they PREV fight.3PL.PST one the other.INST

‘They fought with each other.’

(493)

nipɛk nəznək ɛdʒik ə masikhəz

woman.PL look.3PL one the other.ALL

‘The women are looking at each other.’

zedzik i masik in three place relation constructions

Verb	English translation/meaning
mutʃil	to show/introduce
ɔd	to give
tyl	to pass/fill
hɔlgɔs/hɔl	to listen

Table 78 *zedzik i masik* in three place relations

(494)

zemberek mɛg mutʃit:ak ə josipot zedzik ə masiknɔk

man.PL PREV show.3PL.PST the Joseph.ACC one the other.DAT

‘The men introduced Joseph to each other.’

(495)

yk ɔ:ɔk kadout edzik ə masiknɔk

they give.3PL.PST present.ACC one the other.DAT

‘They gave present to each other.’

(496)

nyk ɛ zɛgis:ɛnd hasitozunk, be tyltynk ɛ zedzik ə masikbul

we the all yawn.1PL, PREV pass.1PL.PST the one the other.LOC

‘All of us yawn, we passed it from one another.’

(497)

ε popok holtək ə povestet edzik ə masikrul
 the priest.PL heard.3PL.PST the story.ACC one the other.DEL

‘The priests heard stories about each other.’

In the present database I did not find examples with *zedzik ə masik* in possessive reciprocals and in object-oriented reciprocals.

Finally both *zedzik ə masik* and *i mas* can in very rare cases occur in nominative case form. Hence in very few cases they can be employed as a surface subject or predicate, and serve as an equivalent of the English each other in a sentence such as *John and Bill were deciding what each other should do* (cited from Knjazev 2007:698). In the nominative cases the meaning of *i mas* can be translated as *another, someone else and each other* as in the possessive reciprocal construction, and *zedzik ə masik* can be translated as *each other* as well.

(498)

be ment i mas kamerabə

PREV go.3S.PST a other room.ILLIN

‘She went into another room.’

(499)

jət i mas vəʎəki ɔrɔ kapraəl,

come.3S.PST a other someone way goat.INST,

huzɔ kətəlvəl ə kaprat

pull.3S rope.INST the goat.ACC

‘Someone else came that way with a goat. He is pulling the goat with a rope.’

(500)

buba-k mæg həɾəgutɪ-ək sɛ ki tʃiptik i **mas** **həj-at**

kid-PL PREV angry.MID.PST-3PL and out tear.3P a another hair-ACC

‘The kids got angry and they are tearing at each other's hair.’

(501)

həlɔt: ɛl i zɛdʒik ə masik mɛlɛ

pass.3S.PST PREV a one the other next

‘They passed each other.’

It can be seen that the heavy form is productive and can occur with almost any transitive verb root. However, regarding the semantics of the predicates which can occur with the two reciprocal anaphoric operators in NMH, no clear differences between the two reciprocal operators can be made. In both cases, impact by force verbs such as *hit*, *push* can be used. Of course there were differences such as the fact that the verb *vəkɔɾɔzik* ‘scratch’ occurred with *zɛdʒik* ə *masik* but not with *i mas* but this does not mean that in an even larger database this situation wouldn’t be different. Emotion verbs such as *hate* and *love* and grooming verbs and body care verbs such as *wash*, *comb* occurred in both types of syntactic reciprocal constructions. The only clear prediction that can be made and was already discussed in the section on morphological reciprocals is that

grooming verbs can solely occur in syntactic reciprocal constructions and never in morphological reciprocal constructions.

7.4 Comparison between syntactic and morphological reciprocals when used with the same verbs

In this section the cases in which the same predicate can participate in a morphological reciprocal construction being marked with *kɛd/kɛz* or *ud/yd* to convey a mutual situation or in syntactic reciprocal construction using the active form of the verb plus the anaphoric reciprocal operators, *zɛdʒik ə masik* or *i mas* are compared. In other words, cases in which the same verb roots can occur with both the light and the heavy form are under discussion. As already discussed in the case of morphological middles the middle marker by itself does not carry a reciprocal meaning per se, hence, I will look at examples with a plural subject. So for example, although the verb *nɛz* occurred in the database both with the *ud/yd* middle marker and with the *i mas* anaphoric reciprocal operator one cannot compare the two cases because the only available examples in my

database were we of the morphological middle with a singular subject as in *y nezydik ə zoglindabə* ‘he looks in the mirror’, with a reflexive meaning, *he looks at himself in the mirror*. Hence, such a sentence cannot be compared to the syntactic reciprocal sentence *nipek nezneke i mashəz* ‘the women were looking at each other’.

Thus, cases in which the same verb can be marked with a middle morphological marker and has a plural subject and the same verb occurs with an anaphoric reciprocal operator will be under comparison. These cases can be further subdivided into three subgroups.

GROUP ONE

Includes cases in which the middle marked verb does not get a reciprocal meaning but a reflexive meaning; whereas the syntactic middle construction has a reciprocal meaning as illustrated below.

(502)

mutʃit-ud-nək ə tɛlɛvızorbə, nɛm ju
 show-MID-3PL the television.ILLIN, no good

‘They are showing themselves on television, it is not good.’

(503)

zɛmbɛrɛk mɛg mutʃitak ə josipot zɛdʒik ə masiknək
 man.PL PREV show.3PL.PST the Joseph.ACC one the other.DAT

‘The men introduced Joseph to each other.’

(504)

ɛz nɛm munʃə kə kitʃikɛ sə vijɛk ɔzək dʒiʃir-kɛd-nɛk
 the not say.3S that tiny and old those praise-MID-3PL

‘He won’t say it is tiny and the old ones are bragging.’

(505)

midʒɛsɛk dʒiʃirik i mast
 neighbor.PL praise.3PL a other.ACC

‘The neighbors are praising each other.’

All the grooming and bodily care verbs are part of this group. They can only express reciprocity with anaphoric reciprocal operators; never with morphological middle markers. With morphological middle markers the meaning is always reflexive; they washed themselves.

GROUP TWO

The second group includes constructions in which both the morphological middle constructions and the syntactic middle constructions seem to convey the exact same meaning and occur in the exact same environments. There might be the case that there are differences; however, no such differences could be found from analyzing the entire database and looking at the whole stream of conversation. These are verbs such as *hate*, *talk*, *holler*, *avoid*.

(506)

dylylik i mast

hate.3PL one other.ACC

‘They hate each other.’

(507)

dylyl-yd-nək

hate-MID-3PL

‘They hate each other.’

(508)

besilnək ε zədʒik ə masiknək telefonbə

talk.3PL the one the other.DAT phone.ILLIN

‘They are talking over the phone.’

(509)

besil-yd-nək,tanaʃl-ud-nək

talk-MID-3PL,talk-MID-3PL

‘They are chatting.’

(510)

nem seretik i mast s oz miant kerylydyнк εl, kerylyk
 not like.3PL a other.ACC and this for avoid.MID.1PL PREV, avoid.1PL

εl i mast

PREV a other.ACC

‘They don’t like each other and because of that we are avoiding each other, we avoid each other.’

In this case the consultant even provided the form of a middle verb plus a reciprocal anaphoric operator; though in this case the case marking on the anaphoric operator was not Accusative but Allative –*tul*.

(511)

kerylydyнк i mastul, nem dzylyнк, kerylyk i mast εl
 avoid.MID.1PL a other.ABL, no meet.1PL, avoid.1PL a other PREV

‘We are avoiding each other, we don’t meet up, we avoid each other.’

kerylydynk i mastul, nem dzylynk,
 avoid.MID.1PL a other.ABL, no meet.1PL,

‘We are avoiding each other, we don't meet up.’

GROUP THREE

The third group conveys cases in which there is a slight difference in meaning between the morphological and the syntactic construction, these were constructions with verbs such as *push*, *hit*, and *kiss*. In these cases the anaphoric reciprocal constructions can express multiplex or a uniplex event i.e. *the boys hit each other 5 times* can mean that the hitting event was done concomitantly in such a way that there were only 5 slaps or that it was done in such a way that there were 10 hitting events; whereas, in the case of the morphological reciprocal construction there can only be a uniplex interpretation in other words there were 5 hitting/slapping events.

7.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, the present chapter discussed in more detail the reciprocal construction in NMH, morphological, lexical and syntactic. Morphological middle reciprocal constructions are formed with a verb marked with the middle marker *kɛd/kɛz* or *ud/yd*. Both subject-oriented reciprocal constructions and very briefly object-oriented reciprocal constructions were under discussion. It has been shown that subject-oriented reciprocal constructions for both *kɛd/kɛz* and *ud/yd* middle marked verbs can be further subdivided into two groups a) Category A which comprises verbs with the middle marker which enter into a standard reciprocal relation with the base verb, and b) Category B lexical middles. Category A has been further subdivided into three subgroups 1) verbs that by default take a reciprocal meaning 2) verbs in which the reflexive meaning is prevalent but under some circumstances can get a reciprocal reading as well, and 3) verbs that exhibit reflexive-reciprocal polysemy. Finally, after looking at all the verbs in my database that took *kɛd/kɛz* and *ud/yd* middle markers which

by default have a reciprocal meaning with a plural subject the following generalizations can be made a) more verbs of impact by force such as different words for ‘pushing’, ‘hitting’, occurred with the *ud/yd* middle marker than with the *kɛd/kɛz* middle marker, b) speech act verbs/emotion verbs/cognitive such ‘mocking’, ‘bragging’, ‘knowing’ occur more frequently with the *kɛd/kɛz* middle marker c) lexical reciprocals (deponents and semi-deponents) are mostly marked with the *kɛd/kɛz* middle marker but some cases of odd-deponents are marked with *ud/yd* middle marker, d) no examples conveying reflexive-reciprocal polysemy with verbs marked with the *kɛd/kɛz* middle marker were found in my database and e) in the cases in which the same verb can occur with both *kɛd/kɛz* and *ud/yd* middle marker, it is always the middle marker *kɛd/kɛz* that will take the reciprocal meaning; whereas the middle marker *ud/yd* will express the middle reflexive meaning. Hence, the reciprocal meaning is inherently stronger in the case of the *kɛd/kɛz* middle marker than in the case of the *ud/yd* middle marker.

It has been shown that NMH lexical reciprocal middles consist of a semantically restricted set of predicate whose meanings fall in the class of social relations such as the different verbs of marry (depending if it is a male or a female who gets married), fight, agree, disagree, to make friends, meet, have sexual intercourse, and kiss and so on. Lexical middles were discussed from both form and function perspectives. Lexical middles were divided into three subgroups a) underived lexical middles, b) deponents and semi-deponents and c) odd reciprocals. It has been shown that lexical middles can occur in both simple reciprocal constructions and discontinuous reciprocals. The discontinuous construction is formed with the Instrumental case marker *ve/* on the relevant noun argument or with the Instrumental personal pronoun. Moreover, a number of reciprocal verbs can be used with a singular Subject in patterns where the other participant is not mentioned, as in I agree and I was still negotiating for the best price. Finally, none of the lexical reciprocals constructions has expressed multiple mutual events. In other words, all lexical deponents express uniplex

mutual events. Multiplex mutual events can only be expressed by grammatical reciprocals especially using the anaphoric reciprocal operators.

Finally syntactic reciprocals were under discussion. I analyzed these constructions as to their difference in meaning and formation in chapter 6. In the present chapter I looked at the diathesis types these constructions can occur in such as two-place and three-place relations constructions. Possessive reciprocals were also discussed. Moreover, regarding the semantics of the predicates which can occur with the two reciprocal anaphoric operators in NMH, no clear differences between the two reciprocal operators can be made. One prediction that was made is that grooming verbs can solely occur in syntactic reciprocal constructions and never in morphological reciprocal constructions. Hence, introverted verbs which refer to actions which one generally performs upon one's self when occurring with the morphological middle marker can only have a reflexive meaning and can only get a reciprocal reading with the reciprocal analytic operators; whereas, extroverted verbs occurred in morphological middle

reciprocal constructions and in syntactic reciprocal constructions. In these cases two main tendencies could be observed. There was one group of verbs in which no main difference in meaning between the morphological and the syntactic reciprocal constructions could be observed. Consultants used these constructions in the exact same environment, sometimes even in the same expression. Another type of verbs were verbs such as hitting, kissing, impact verbs in which there was a slight difference in the ability of the reciprocal construction to convey a multiplex vs. a uniplex event. The morphological reciprocal construction could express only a uniplex event; whereas, the syntactic reciprocal construction could express both a uniplex and a multiplex event.

To sum up, the light form is relatively restricted it cannot occur with every transitive root to indicate reciprocal semantics. Not so the heavy form which is productive and can occur with almost any transitive verb root.

Chapter 8: Reflexive Middles in NMH

8.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses in detail reflexive middle constructions in NMH looking at morphological, syntactic and lexical reflexive middles. Under reflexive middles I subsume direct reflexives, indirect reflexives, grooming and body care verbs, and even motion situation types such as ‘I moved’, ‘I stand up’.

Although some linguists differentiate between direct reflexives, reflexive middles grooming and body care verbs and motion verbs, as already explained in chapter 5 and 6, the approach taken in this paper is that although these situation types differ with respect to some semantic properties they can all be considered reflexive middles as they share the most important property of the confinement of the action within the agent’s sphere and the volitionality of the Initiator. Hence, the present chapter will deal with reflexive middles, grooming and body care middle situation types, and motion middle situation types.

Firstly, different approaches to this topic will be discussed introducing relevant terminology and concepts such as archetypal reflexives, prototypical middles, (Faltz and Kemmer), the notion of Obligatoriness when distinguishing reflexives and intensifiers, and usage and world frequency as a methodological approach to explain linguistic behavior. Section 8.2 will briefly discuss morphological reflexive middles in NMH, providing a detailed list of all the predicates that occurred in the database with the two middle markers *kɛd/kɛz* and *ud/yd* briefly characterizing the semantic of the verbs and the constructions they appear in. When necessary the reflexive-spontaneous polysemy and the reflexive -impersonal polysemy are discussed. I will conclude with a short comparison of the findings regarding these two morphological middle constructions and make some diachronic predictions based on the findings of the present and the foregoing chapters vis-à-vis these morphological middle suffixes. Section 8.3 will analyze lexical middles dividing them into underived reflexive middles, deponents and odd-deponents, the same concepts used when looking at

reciprocal lexical middles. Section 8.4 will look into syntactic reflexive middles in NMH showing that depending on the case taken by the anaphoric operator *maga* their function is different such as reflexives, intensifiers, causers, and experiencers. In section 8.5 I will compare morphological middles and syntactic middles in NMH also looking at the occurrence of the same verb root with both light and heavy forms. Is there a difference in the meaning those two strategies convey when occurring with the same verb. Moreover, predicates that can occur only in one of the two middle constructions will be analyzed using Haspelmath's frequency approach. Finally, section 8.6 will deal with the topic of the interpretation of the distribution of the middle forms taking into consideration the different correlations between form and function such as 1) the correlation between form and semantic transparency and 2) the correlation between form and its use in context. In addition, based on the present synchronic analysis it will try to predict some diachronic and future developments of the middle category in NMH.

8.1 Reflexivity as a crosslinguistic phenomena-terminology

Previous typological studies of reflexive constructions have treated reflexivity as a semantic relationship that expresses coreference between two semantic roles (Faltz 1985, Geniusiene 1987, Kemmer 1993). It has been also suggested that the archetypical reflexive construction is realized as a simple clause with two nominal arguments, a human agent or experience and a patient. This Agent and Patient have the same referent. Namely, the function of a reflexive construction crosslinguistically is to encode coreference (Faltz 1985). This basic characterization is taken by Kemmer (1993) and restated in solely semantic terms. According to Kemmer (1993) if a language specifically marks coreference of participants in any other situation type not fitting the description above, the situation type described above will also be marked for coreference. For this reason Kemmer (1993) takes this situation to be the semantic prototype that forms the basis of the grammatical category of reflexive in human languages and terms it **the direct reflexive**.

Moreover also observed by Faltz is the fact that any special marking for reflexivization typically occurs on the object or patient NP, rather than on the subject or agent NP. Furthermore, Faltz demonstrates that reflexive markers across languages are almost always realized as one of two main morphological types. In the first main type of reflexive construction, there is a special pronominal form encoding a reflexive relationship which is usually realized as a direct object. He terms this type the **noun phrase reflexive** and gives the example of the Russian pronominal *sebjä*. Faltz claims that in the noun phrase reflexive type subtypes can be found such as the English *him/herself* which he calls **compound reflexive** because it is comprised of a reflexive element *self* and a possessive pronominal element. The second type of reflexive construction is the morphological class of reflexive construction. This is usually a single isolatable morpheme which attaches to a verb to signal a reflexive relationship, as the Russian *-sja*.

Kemmer's definition of a reflexive marker is 'a reflexive marker is a productive grammatical device that is used obligatory to mark direct reflexive contexts in at least the third person' (1993:47). This definition is very similar to what Faltz calls primary reflexive strategy. The only main difference between the two is that Kemmer calls for the reflexive marker to be obligatory in reflexive semantic contexts, while Faltz does not. Obligatoriness is an important issue for Kemmer because many have claimed that reflexive markers tend to derive historically from emphatic markers or as Konig & Siemund (2000) term them **intensifiers**. According to Kemmer emphatic markers serve to single out a participant in contrast to other potential referents. In a lot of languages the emphatic marker/intensifier has the same form as the reflexive marker. Hence, Kemmer claims that only when the reflexive marker has become obligatory is it clear that its primary function has no longer anything to do with the presence of speaker **emphasis or contrast**; since it is obligatory in cases of coreference it must by definition occur in situations where there is no such emphasis. Hence,

Kemmer draws a clear line between reflexives and emphatic markers and does not treat emphatic markers at all in her work. Although Obligatoriness is an important feature for this characterization, there are languages such as Romanian in which the emphatic pronoun *însuși* also functions as a compound reflexive (using Faltz 1985 terminology) when followed by the corresponding accusative pronoun. Hence, the emphatic pronoun in Romanian carries the essence of coreferentiality and does signal a ‘reflexive-like coreference’ and is in a lot of cases obligatory as in *Ion discuta cu Maria despre el însuși* ‘John talks/converses with Mary about himself’, if one omits the emphatic pronoun the sentence is ambiguous it can be that Ion talked with Mary about another male figure as in *Ion discuta cu Maira despre el*.

The differentiation between intensifiers and reflexives is relevant to the discussion of syntactic reflexive middles in this chapter. In most European languages intensifiers such as the German *selbst*, the Russian *sam* differ from the reflexive pronouns such German *sich*, and Russian *sebjä*. Also in Romanian

there is a difference between the intensifier and the reflexive. In other languages however, such as Finno-Ugric, Caucasian, English (X-self), intensifiers and reflexive pronouns are completely identical in form, though not in distribution. Although there is a large body of research especially conducted by König and Siegmund regarding the differences between reflexive and intensifiers not only in form but also in function and distribution, I will follow Quirk et al (1985) and consider intensifiers a specific emphatic use of reflexives; hence the term used here is ‘emphatic reflexive’.

As NMH reflexive anaphoric operator occurs in a large variety of case markings, I will make use to some extent of the obligatory distinction in order to differentiate between the different functions of the reflexive middle construction. However, the meaning and function of the different case markings in NMH will also be shown to be of importance when trying to figure out the function of the middle anaphoric operator, is it a true reflexive/middle, is it an indirect reflexive/middle, is it an intensifier of some sort.

As already mentioned in chapter 5, Kemmer following Faltz makes a clear differentiation between middle and reflexive actions. Kemmer proposes a close relationship between middle and reflexive semantics describing the differences between prototypical middle and reflexive situation types. The prototypical middle situation type according to Kemmer designates an event in which an agent subject is involved in bodily action like the Romanian *se imbraca* ‘to get dressed’. A prototypical reflexive event type on the other hand, involves a simple clause that expresses a two participant predication in which the agent-like and the patient-like entities are coreferent, i.e., *Mary stabbed herself* (Kemmer 1993:42). Faltz eliminates from the set of reflexive context body actions even if they seem to fit very well they do involve actions carried out on oneself. He claims that the marking patterns associated with these situation types show that they are far from ‘par excellence’ reflexives. He characterizes this set as designating socio-cultural activities that are commonly performed reflexively by people. He also notes that the morphosyntactic marking associated with verbs

denoting these actions usually differs depending on whether the subject is human or not as in English *Tiger was washing himself* [where *Tiger is a cat*] and *John washed/John got washed* [where *John is my brother*] (cited from Kemmer 1993:53). In Kemmer's terms these are **grooming verbs/body care verbs**. Kemmer goes one step further and also differentiates between another set of verbs which she calls **change in overall body posture**, such as *stand up* , *sit down*, *lie down* etc. She claims that they are similar to grooming verbs because they are reflexive insofar as they denote actions in which a volitional entity acts on its own body; yet they are typologically distinguished from reflexives appearing as intransitives. These verbs should also be distinguished from reflexive verbs and called middles because they appear with middle marking in languages with middle marking systems. Finally, there are two more groups that she mentions and claims should be distinguished from reflexives. The first group **non-translational motion action verbs** which comprise verbs that denote actions of motor manipulation of the body or a part of the body without changing the

location such as *turn, twist, bend, nod, shake, bow* etc. The second group is comprised of verbs that involve motion of an animate entity under its own power through space, such as *fly, flee, arrive, leave, take a walk, go* etc. These are called **translational motion actions** and need to be distinguished from reflexives because in most languages they are coded by means of root intransitive verbs and some also get a middle marker.

The main reason why Kemmer (1993) distinguishes reflexive situations from middle situations seems to be partially based on the typical forms used to express them. Reflexive situations tend to be expressed periphrastically as in ‘hit oneself’, and Kemmer’s typical middle situations are expressed morphologically as in ‘shave’, and single participant situations tend to be expressed without any middle markers, hence lexically. However, if one follows Shibatani’s approach to voice as he clearly explains it in his 2006 paper, one can see that these situation types all fall in the middle domain. The present account of middle/reflexive constructions in NMH does not make this distinction between

reflexives and middles. In other words, the present paper treats the so called direct reflexive, grooming and body care verbs, and movement verbs as all being middle situation types. They all share at least four important semantic properties that make them all be part of what can be called reflexive middle constructions. They share coreferentiality between the Agent/Initiator of the event and the patient-like participant. The development of the action happens in the agent's own personal sphere. Moreover, there is high volitionality of the Initiator of the event. Hence, the present chapter will deal with reflexive middles, grooming and body care middle situation types and motion middle situation types.

Finally, other important situations which are relevant for the present study are those situations which involve a coreference relation between the Agent (Initiator) and some non-Patient participant in the event. These are roles such as Recipient, Beneficiary, and other various locative and directional roles. For the middle domain the most important role would be the Recipient and the Beneficiary.

Kemmer talks about indirect reflexives and indirect middles. The prototypical **indirect reflexive** situation is defined as comprising situations in which there are three participants, an Agent, a Patient, and a Recipient or Beneficiary and the Agent and the Recipient or Beneficiary are coreferential. In most of the cases the indirect reflexive requires some additional indication of its indirect semantics usually dative case marking or an adposition such as the English *John built a house for himself*. The prototypical **indirect middle** has a relational structure similar to that of the indirect reflexive in that it also involves an action in which the effect of the action accrues back to the Initiator. Nevertheless, 'in contrast to the indirect reflexive, the indirect middle situation type comprises action that one normally or necessarily performs for one's own benefit' (Kemmer 1993:78).

Kemmer provides examples such as *pray, acquire, ask, request* etc. She tries to prove her claim for differentiation by analyzing verbs such as *choose* and *acquire*. She claims that although possible to choose something for another person, there is something odd about using the word in such situations, because

choosing involves the Initiator's exercising judgment regarding which of two or more objects is preferred. In a situation in which a person chooses on behalf of another person, the Initiator is 'the entity judging the benefit and the as such must put him or herself in the role of the actual beneficiary in order to make such a judgment' (Kemmer 1993:80). Here again I believe that this difference between indirect reflexive vs. indirect middles made by Kemmer is on the main part formal. Because semantically, it is quite hard to prove that verbs such as choose, pray are done more naturally on the behalf of oneself than on the behalf of someone else.

To clarify this point it is of relevance to introduce Haspelmath's 2008 study. In his paper Haspelmath makes an important point regarding explanatory methodologies. He tries to explain different well known reflexive universals by using what he calls the frequentative methodology. If I can put his main claim in my own words, Haspelmath basically asks himself, why is it that one can claim that particular verbs are more naturally done to oneself than to someone else just

like that? I.e. why should one believe the claim that some verbs such as *wash*, *comb* are more naturally done to oneself, while others such as *kill*, *hit* are more naturally done to someone else , Haiman's introverted verbs and extroverted verbs respectively. Of course, a well observed behavior in many languages has called for such differentiation between the semantics of these types of verbs. Namely, the fact that 'in all languages, the reflexive-marking forms employed with extroverted verbs are at least as long (or 'heavy') as the reflexive-marking forms employed with introverted verbs' (Haspelmath 2008:44). Hence, the functional explanation was stated clearly by Haiman (1983). It is the principle of economical coding of predictable information. 'What is predictable receives less coding than what is not'. (Haiman 1983 cited from Haspelmath 2008:45).

However, even though this might be the case in some languages, Haspelmath is not satisfied with this type of argumentation. For him verb meaning does not seem to be the decisive factor. In a hypothetical culture where people are always shaved by others, a verb meaning 'shave' would not behave as an introverted

verb, even if it were semantically fully identical to English ‘shave’. So is frequency in the world (or knowledge of that frequency, i.e. world knowledge) the crucial quantity? But how would world frequency get reflected in language structure?

Clearly, the mechanism for economic motivation of the sort discussed by Haiman (and Zipf before him, cf. Zipf 1935⁸³) is the grammaticalization of speakers’ tendencies in discourse. ‘Speakers can afford to reduce expressions that hearers can predict they will hear, but they have to be fully explicit on expressions that surprise hearers because of their rarity’. (Haspelmath 2008:45). Structural Zipfian economy derives from speech frequency, not from world frequency. Haspelmath goes further and shows that while often speech frequency

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‘The greater the frequency of occurrence of words, the less tends to be their average length, and the smaller also is the number of different words. The relation between frequency and number of different words is said to be expressed by the formula $ab^2 = k$, in which a represents the number of different words of a given frequency and b the frequency. The relationship between the magnitude of speech elements and their frequency is attributed to the operation of a ‘law’ of linguistic change: that as the frequency of phonemes or of linguistic forms increases, their magnitude decreases. There is thus a tendency to ‘maintain an equilibrium’ between length and frequency, and this tendency rests upon an ‘underlying law of economy.’ Human beings strive to maintain an ‘emotional equilibrium’ between variety and repetitiveness of environmental factors and behavior. A speaker’s discourse must represent a compromise between variety and repetitiveness adapted to the hearer’s ‘tolerable limits of change in maintaining emotional equilibrium.’ This accounts for the maintenance of the relationship $ab^2 = k$; the exponent of b expresses this ‘rate of variegation.’

correlates with and is due to world frequency as presumably in the case of introverted/extroverted verbs, in many other cases world frequency has no relation to speech frequency. He gives examples such as the fact that the word *oxygen molecule* is rarer in speech frequency than the word *house*, although houses are much rarer in the world than *oxygen molecule*. Moreover, one other example is that plurals are rarer than singulars, although the world contains more groups than individuals.

The fact that speech frequency and not world frequency, is the immediately relevant factor is fortunate, because unlike world frequency, it can be measured rather easily, by performing frequency counts of representative text corpora. Haspelmath (2008:5) asks himself ‘But why exactly is the reflexive interpretation of introverted verbs predictable?’ and claims that it is the relative frequency of reflexive use of a given verb. If a verb is rarely used reflexively, marking it as reflexive is more important than if a verb is often used reflexively.

In the same spirit one could ask oneself, why would one automatically believe Kemmer's differentiation between direct reflexives vs. middle verbs and her claim that verbs such as *pray*, *choose*, *acquire*, *ask* are actions normally or necessary performed for one's own benefit; whereas, verbs such as *buy* and *acquire* are actions more normally done for someone else's benefit. Based on this claim a crucial differentiation for Kemmer's theory is made between indirect reflexives and indirect middles.

In conclusion, in the present paper I am going to make use of Haspelmath's methodology whenever some claims which are of relevance in explaining the behavior of the reflexive middle constructions in NMH, need to be further verified such as is it true that introverted verbs occur 'typically' or 'normally' reflexively? Namely, I will run when necessary database searches in order to see what the tendencies of usage of particular verbs in NMH are especially regarding the reflexive situations.

8.2 Morphological Reflexives in NMH

Introduction

In chapters 4, 6 and 7 the two morphological middle markers *ked /kez* and *ud/yd* have been discussed in great detail. Chapter 7 dealt with the reciprocal meaning of these markers and when relevant the reflexive/reciprocal polysemy. The present chapter will deal with the reflexive meaning of these markers. As already mentioned at great length in the introduction of this chapter I consider grooming verbs but also motion situations, change of mental state to be part of the same semantic spectrum of reflexive middle situations. Hence, this section will provide a detailed list of all the predicates that occurred in the database with these two middle markers, briefly characterize those verbs and show in which constructions they appear. When relevant the polysemy relation of these constructions will be under discussion such as the reflexive-spontaneous polysemy and the reflexive – impersonal polysemy. This will be done along

with a comparison of the predicates and usage of the *ked/kez* and *ud/yd* middle morphological constructions.

Finally, morphological middles and syntactic middles are being compared. Is there a different in the meaning those two strategies convey when occurring with the same verb?

8.2.1 *Ud/yd reflexive middles in NMH*

The following table illustrates all the verbs that occurred with the middle marker *ud/yd* and had a reflexive middle meaning in the database. The verbs that deviate from the reflexive middle situation type will be presented in bold italics.

Verb	English translation/meaning
aktʃidentaludik	have an accident/lit accident oneself
<i>aminaludik</i>	<i>to be cancelled, to be postponed</i>
<i>bogozudik</i>	<i>got knotted</i>
<i>bontudik</i>	<i>got demolished</i>
<i>porludik</i>	<i>crumbled</i>
diskurkaludik or ki kurkaludik	to manage /to manage to get out LEXICAL MIDDLE
dobudik	bruise/hit oneself
<i>flokujeludik</i>	<i>cook apart</i>

Verb	English translation/meaning
fogudik	catch (easy to catch, gets caught easily, X gets himself caught)
fortsaludik	to force oneself
formaludik	become, transform oneself into
fysylydik	comb oneself
<i>gazludik</i>	<i>be knotted</i>
højtudik	throw oneself on the floor/smear oneself with cream
hordozudik	carry oneself, behave
hødudzik	follow
<i>høludzik</i>	<i>to be heard</i>
<i>høsitudik</i>	<i>get split (no intervention)</i>
<i>høtərīludik</i>	<i>to be decided</i>
irudik	register
<i>kalmaludik</i>	<i>to calm down</i>
<i>linīstilydik</i>	<i>to calm down</i>
kətsəraludik	to climb LEXICAL MIDDLE
<i>kəpudik</i>	<i>find (something cannot be found)</i>
latudik	visible, see oneself
ləkomiludik	to covet LEXICAL MIDDLE
makjaludik	make up oneself
mosudik	wash oneself
mərudik	bite oneself
mutaludik	move oneself
ɲəludik	lick oneself
ɲumudik	push, press
ɔkəstudik	get hanged, hang oneself
pedepsiludik	punish oneself
plimbarudnik	take a walk

Verb	English translation/meaning
pudrazudik	powder oneself
kenydik	powder oneself/smear oneself with something
rankoludik	yank oneself
<i>rontudik</i>	<i>get broken</i>
ʃanudik	do
ʃerkaludik	try LEXICAL MIDDLE
<i>ʃivaludik</i>	<i>to calm down</i>
ʃɔpɔludik	slap oneself
ɔpɔludik	hit oneself
<i>sidudik</i>	<i>curse, tell off</i>
<i>sirɔtudik</i>	<i>wail, cry, mourn</i>
<i>soritudik</i>	<i>be squeezed</i>
sɔbudik	hit himself/got hit
strɪmbaludik	makes faces/bend one's face
stropiludik	get smeared/smear oneself
surudik	prick oneself / get pricked
tɔkɔrudzik	cover oneself
tɔrɪludik/tɪrɪludik	crawl LEXICAL MIDDLE
<i>tududzik</i>	<i>be known</i>
vagudik	cut oneself
<i>varudik</i>	<i>wait, await</i>
byzgelydik	smell oneself
dɔʃkɔlydik	rub oneself
<i>esydik</i>	<i>figure out lexical middle</i>
<i>ɛydik</i>	<i>be eaten</i>
<i>erzydik</i>	<i>feel</i>
<i>fenydik</i>	<i>hesitate</i>

Verb	English translation/meaning
fītsiktetydik	to toss from side to side (in this example shake the booty from side to side while walking) LEXICAL MIDDLE
<i>gizigelydik</i>	<i>be ticklish</i>
heʎetydik	sit down
verydik	convulse, hit oneself on the ground
lyydik	get shot, or shoot oneself
nezydik	see oneself
ɲerydik	shear, get the head shaved
pergelydik	get burned, burn oneself
ʃipylydik	pinch oneself
ʃøngylydik	twirl around
teydik	pretend LEXICAL MIDDLE
<i>tetsydik</i>	<i>be visible</i>
kørmølydik	scratch oneself
<i>vigzydik</i>	<i>finish</i>
yltezydik	put oneself on footwear
<i>yrlydik</i>	<i>(The corn) got ground</i>
<i>fuføludik</i>	<i>be ashamed</i>

Table 79 Exhaustive Verb List with –ud/yd Reflexive meaning

As can be seen from the above table *ud/yd* middle marked verbs fall into the following semantic classes: a) grooming and body care verbs such as *wash, make up, comb-hair*, etc b) self directed actions such as impact by force verbs such as

hit oneself, scratch oneself, bite oneself, etc c) motion verbs (translational such as *climb, move, take a walk*, non-translational such as *bend, to shake the booty from side to side while walking*, and change in body posture such as *sit down*), d) change of mental state verbs (cognitive such as *know, decide, hesitate, pretend*, emotive and emotion verbs such as *feel, cry, calm down, desiderative await, to covet*, emotive speech actions such as *curse, tell off*, perception verbs such as *smell, hear, see*, etc) and e) spontaneous events such partial or global disruption of object's material integrity such as *break, get knotted, get crumbled, cook apart, get demolished, tear*, etc), pshycho-chemical change such as *burn*, property of activities such as *finish, be cancelled, postponed*.

Moreover, out 79 light form middle verbs 28 do not express reflexive middle situation types. Hence, although these different types of verbs are expressed in a variety of constructions such as reflexive middle constructions, spontaneous constructions, impersonal constructions, etc, the most frequent middle semantic situation type marked by *ud/yd* middle marker is the reflexive middle one (which

includes the direct reflexive, grooming and body care verbs as well as motion situation types).

Moreover, there are cases in which there is a reflexive-spontaneous polysemy or reflexive-passive like polysemy. The following sentences are examples of these types of constructions and their active-counterpart when existing.

Self directed actions–grooming and body care situations

(512)

mamə yltezydik

mother put.on.footwear.MID.3S

‘Mother is putting on footwear.’

(513)

ə ʎapəʃkə fəl ɣltɛzte ɛ zəʃəʃkejɪt
 the girl.DIM PREV put.on.footwear.3S.PST the brother.DIM.3POSS.ACC

‘The little girl put footwear on her little brother.’

(514)

keni kremaɔl ə labɔit leʃenɛk sikək
 smear.3S cream.INST the leg.3POSS.ACC be.3PL.OPT smooth

‘She is smearing her legs with a cream so they would be smooth.’

(515)

most kɛnydik ɔrtsul lejɪk sip
 now smear.MID.3S face be.3S.OPT pretty

‘Now she is wiping her face so she would be pretty.’

Self directed actions other than grooming

(516)

ɛz ə kuʃɔ ʃɔk **ɲɔludik** sɛ vəkɔrɔdzɪk kɛl leʃenɛk balai
 this the dog a.lot lick.MID.3S and scratch.MID.3S must be.OPT.3S fleas

‘This dog is just licking and scratching, it must have fleas.’

(517)

kuʃɔ̌ mɛg ɲɔltɔ bubat

dog PREV lick.3S child.ACC

‘The dog licked the child.’

(518)

mɛg mɔrtɔm viktoret

PREV bite.1S.PST Viktoria.ACC

‘I bit Viktoria.’

(519)

en mɛg mɔrutɔm, en mɔgɔmnɔk

I PREV bite.MID.1S, I self.1S.DAT

‘I bit myself, I myself.’

Movement situations

(520)

mare beteg nēezen mutaludik

Mary ill difficulty move.MID.3S

‘Mary is ill. She moves with difficulty.’

(521)

ɛl mutaltə ɛ bitʃikletat ɛ hɛʎibyl

away move.3S.PST the bicycle.ACC the place.ELA

‘He moved the bike from its place.’

Reflexive/spontaneous polysemy

(522)

zember fel ɔkɔstudɔt:

man PREV hang.MID.3S.PST

‘The man got hanged, or the man hanged himself.’

(523)

kɛl:ɛt ɔkɔs:ɔm ə gomoʔakət hoʔ mutʃis:ɔm mit ʃantəm həs:u tɛlɛn
 need.1S.PST hang.1S the yarn.ACC that show.1S what do.1S.PST long winter

‘I had to hang the yarns to show what I did through the long winter.’

The following two sentences illustrate the fact that the verb *dobudik* ‘hit/bruise oneself’ has no inherent reflexive meaning per se since it can occur in reflexive situations in which the child really hits himself; or in spontaneous situations in which the child fell down and his falling was the reason for him getting hit or getting bruised.

(524)

ɛz ɛ bubɔ ɔrɔki **dobudik** mɛg
 this the child always hit.MID.3S PREV

‘This child always hits / bruises himself.’

(525)

ɛz ɛ bubɔ lɛ ɛsɛt: sɛ mɛg dobudɔt
 this the child down fall.3S and PREV hit.MID.3S.PST

‘This child fell down and got hit.’

Reflexive/impersonal middle polysemy

The middle form of the verb *lat* ‘see’ can occur in direct reflexive situations as ‘looking at oneself’ or ‘seeing oneself in the mirror’ as well as in impersonal situation in which a particular event or entity is visible.

(526)

in:et	latudik	i	hed,	ə	Babadokje
from.here	see.MID.3S	a	mountain,	Baba	Dochie

‘From here Babadochie is visible.’

(527)

seretem	məgəmət	jet	latudzom	zoglindabə
like.1S	self.1S.ACC	when	see.MID.1S	mirror.ILLIN

‘I like myself when I look at myself into the mirror.’

(528)

ez	nem	lat	jul
this	no	see.3S	well

‘This one doesn't see well.’

In conclusion, one can see that *ud/yd* middle marked reflexive constructions are productive to the extent that they occur with a large number of verbs from different semantic spectrums and expressing a variety of situations. Finally, out of 79 verbs there were 7 lexical middles. Those will be discussed in section 8.3.

8.2.2 kɛd/kɛz reflexive middle morphological constructions

Here again verbs that participate in semantic situation types other than reflexive middles, grooming and body care, and movement will be represented in bold italics.

Verbs	English translation/meaning
<i>tyrkezik</i>	<i>roll up/or down (sleeves)</i>
emelkedik	raise (the curtain/a person)
ereszkedik	lower oneself, ascend LEXICAL MIDDLE
højölkedik	bow
huzakodik	crawl
fekedzik	lie down LEXICAL MIDDLE
fojotkozik	fool oneself
<i>syrekedik</i>	<i>drip (sieve oneself down)</i>
<i>sököd</i>	<i>tear (the dress tore)</i>
hölgetkozik ⁸⁴	hear
<i>imadkozik</i>	<i>pray LEXICAL MIDDLE</i>
<i>esynkedik</i>	<i>learn LEXICAL MIDDLE</i>
<i>reminkedik</i>	<i>beg, ask LEXICAL MIDDLE</i>
<i>judalkozik</i>	<i>wonder/ to be surprised LEXICAL MIDDLE</i>
píñjilkəzik	lie in wait LEXICAL MIDDLE
<i>gondolkozik</i>	<i>think</i>
vətkezik	dress oneself LEXICAL MIDDLE
borotvalkəzik	shave oneself

Table 80 Exhaustive Verb List with –k d/k z Reflexive meaning

⁸⁴ As the middle form of the verb hölget occurred only once with the k d/k z middle marker in the database, it is very hard for me to make a judgment as to the differences in meaning and usage between the middle form of the verb and the active form of the verb. The active form of the verb occurred with the meaning such as listening to someone in the sense of obeying them, or listening to music, or just when the consultant wanted to say that the children were quite.

Out of the 18 verbs marked with *ked/kez* middle marker 8 verbs do not exhibit reflexive middle semantic properties. Furthermore out of these 18 verbs 8 verbs are **lexical middles**. These verbs will be discussed in section 8.3 on reflexive middles in NMH.

The above 18 verbs fall into the following semantic classes: a) grooming and body care verbs such as *shave and dress (2 instances)* b) motion verbs - translational such as *crawl*, non-translational such as *bow*, and change in body posture such as *lie down, lower oneself, raise (5 instances)*, c) change of mental state verbs cognitive such *learn/figure out, think, wonder, fool/deceive* emotive and emotion verbs such as *pray*, , emotive speech actions such as *beg (7 instances)* and e) spontaneous events such partial or global disruption of object's material integrity such as *tear and drip(3 instances)* f) perception middles such *hear (1instance)*.

Hence, as one can see the majority of the verbs that occur with *ked/kez* reflexive middle marker are change of mental state verbs and motion verbs.

There are only 2 instances of self-directed reflexive actions with grooming verbs and no instances with any other kind of action verbs such as impact by force *hit*, *bite* etc.

The following are some examples with their active counterpart when one exists.

Self directed actions—grooming and body care situations

(529)

zember borotvalkəzik

man shave.MID.3S

‘The man is shaving himself.’

(530)

le borotvaltə muspatsait

PREV shave.3S.PST moustache.ACC

‘He shaved off his moustache.’

Movement situations

(531)

most **emɛlkɛdik** mɛg fokto tʃɛrdʒet mɛg raztə labat
 now rise.MID.3S PREV hold.3S.PST knee.ACC PREV shake.3S.PST leg.ACC

‘Now he is rising up and he got held of his knee, he shook his leg.’

(532)

emɛli ɛ sɛmɛit
 rise.3S the eyebrow.3POSS.ACC

‘She is raising her eyebrows.’

Comparison between the *kɛd/kɛz* reflexive middles and *ud/yd* reflexive middles

As observed in the above sections, *ud/yd* middle is much more productive than *kɛd/kɛz*. It occurred with 79 verbs in my database plus with a large amount of adjectives that were not taken into account in this paper. Secondly, the type of the verbs in the *ud/yd* middle constructions is larger than in the case of *kɛd/kɛz*.

The *kɛd/kɛz* middle constructions never occurred in self directed actions such as impact by force verbs such as *hit oneself, scratch oneself, bite oneself* nor in *passive-like constructions*. One can also say that the percentage of Lexical middles is higher with *kɛd/kɛz* middle marker than with *ud/yd* middle marker. Out of 18 *kɛd/kɛz* middle verbs 8 were lexical middles; whereas out of 79 *ud/yd* middle verbs there were 7 lexical middles. In chapter 7, situations in which the same verb appeared with both *kɛd/kɛz* and *ud/yd* middle marker were discussed. It was shown that in these instances the verb marked *kɛd/kɛz* will be used in reciprocal constructions; whereas the *ud/yd* marked verb will be used in reflexive middle constructions. Other differences were also discussed but will not be mentioned here as this chapter is not about the reciprocal meaning of these morphological middles but about their reflexive middle meaning.

The present finding that the *ud/yd* middle marker is more productive than the *kɛd/kɛz* middle marker is in tune with the observation made in chapter 6 that solely the *ud/yd* middle marker has extended its usage to impersonal middle

situation types in NMH. Moreover, one can predict that if a passive construction will develop in NMH it will be *ud/yd* and not *kɛd/kɛz* that will extend its usage to cover this semantic domain. In addition, another prediction that can be made is that if the usage of a particular middle marker will become fossilized it will be *kɛd/kɛz* and not *ud/yd* as even in the present situation *there* are more lexical middles represented by *kɛd/kɛz* than by *ud/yd*.

8.3 Reflexive Lexical Middles in NMH

All languages seem to have a number of verbs which denote reflexive middle configurations by themselves without occurring in any kind of special neither morphological nor syntactic construction. A crucial point about lexical middles is that cross-linguistically they generally fall into specific semantically-defined verb classes such as grooming or body care verbs, motion verbs such as non-translational motion, change in body posture, translational motion, emotion middles and emotive speech middles, cognitive middles, and in spontaneous events with verbs of growing, rotting etc. According to Kemmer though ‘we do

not find meanings such ‘hit oneself’, ‘see oneself’, and ‘love oneself’ in the list of deponents provided [in grammars]’ (1993:23). Maldonado (2009) explains this phenomenon in cognitive terms. He claims that the middle compresses the event into one participant and it focuses on the crucial moment of change-of-state to obtain an energetic event. The increase in speed and suddenness of the action is but one manifestation of the energetic projection of the middle event. The higher degree of involvement of the experiencer in full involvement transitive constructions and in verbs of emotion and emotional reaction is another manifestation of this phenomenon. The emergence of the speaker’s expectations is no less a good manifestation of an energetic event. Given this view, deponent verbs are the crystallized lexicalizations of a well attested pattern in the language where the subject deeply participates in the emotional act and determines a particular view of events in everyday life.

In this section the semantic classes NMH lexical middles fall into will be presented. As has been done for reciprocal lexical middles, reflexive lexical

middles will be also subdivided into **underived reflexive middles** which are lexical reflexives in the narrow sense of the word hence do not contain any reflexive marker, **deponents/semi-deponents** which are reflexive predicates with a reflexive marker whose base form does not occur without this marker i.e. lack a corresponding non-reciprocal counterpart or diverge in particular ways from its meaning , and **odd reflexive derivatives** which refer to those reflexives which are related to their non-reflexive counterparts in marginal patterns or not at all.

a) Underived reflexive middle reciprocals

Motion situations types

Change in body posture Lexical Middles

(533)

bikə	yl	hatond
frog	sit.3S	on.back

‘The frog is sitting on its back.’

(534)

en lɛ ɲultəm ə zaɲbə

I down lie.1S.PST the bed.ILLIN

‘I lay down in the bed.’

Non-translational motions

(535)

ɲujtozik kə ɔlut Jul

stretch.3S because sleep.3S.PST Well

‘He stretches because he slept well.’

(536)

hɔjɔl lɛ

bend.3S down

‘She bends down.’

Change of mental state

(537)

bubɔ	nɛm	fɛlɛjtɛtɛ	ɛl	ə	zɔɲat
child	not	forget.3S.PST	away	the	mother

‘The child did not forget his mother.’

One can see that the underived lexical middles in NMH fall into two main groups: change of mental state and motion verbs. Now let us look at deponents and semi deponents.

b) Deponents, and Semi-Deponents

Lexical reflexive middles with *ud/yd* middle marker

Verb	English translation/meaning
diskurkaludik or ki kurkaludik	to manage /to manage to get out
kətsəraludik	to climb
ləkomiludik	to covet
ʃerkaludik	try
təɾiludik/tiriludik	crawl
ɛsydik	figure out
tɛydik	pretend
fɪtsɪktɛtydik	to toss from side to side (in this example shake the booty from side to side while walking)

Table 81 ud/yd Deponents

Lexical reflexive middles with *kəd/kəz* middle marker

Verb	English translation/meaning
ɛrɛskədik	lower oneself, ascend
fəkədʒik	lie down
imadkozik	pray
ɛsynkədik	learn
rɛminkədik	beg, ask
ʃudalkozik	wonder/ to be surprised
pɪŋjilkəzik	lie in wait
vɛtkəzik	dress oneself

Table 82 k d/k z Deponents

One can see that out 17 deponents there is only one grooming verb and the vast majority of verbs are change in mental state and motion verbs.

The following are some examples of these types of reflexive middle constructions.

Motion situations

(538)

fəl kətsəraludot sə fəl ylt

up climb.MID.3S.PST and up sit.3S.PST

‘It climbed up and it sat up.’

(539)

y ɛl mɛnt fɛkɛdʒik lɛ, ɛl farɔdot:

he PREV go.3S.PST lie.MID.3S down, PREV tired.3S.PST

‘He went to lie down, he was tired.’

Change in mental state

(540)

sə ʃɛrkaludot ɛsmit bujik ɛl

and try.MID.3S.PST again hide.3S PREV

‘And he tried to hide again.’

(541)

tʃudal-kəzik sə sipər-vəl ə kez-i-bə

wonder-MID.3S and mug-INS the hand-3S.GEN-ILLIN

‘He is wondering with the mug in his hand.’

c) Odd deponents

The verb *ereskədik* ‘lower oneself, ascend’ can be considered a lexical reflexive because its active counterpart has no relation whatsoever with the middle form. For reciprocals I called these verbs odd deponents and I will use this term in this case as well.

(542)

fogudik mæg, sə ereskədik lə

grab.MID.3S PREV, and ascend.MID.3S down

‘He grabs on, and ascends.’

(543)

ereskedem le i ʃep:et

ascend.MID.1S down a little

‘I will lie down a little.’

The active form of the verb *eres* does not have the meaning of ‘ascend’ but ‘to let out’ – as in *let out someone from the gate*, or *present some information to people*. Whereas, the middle form of the verb has the meaning ‘to lower oneself’, ‘ascend’, and ‘lie down’.

(544)

ε zimre fel regisztraltō hoʃ eres:ε ki ε dʒermekiknek

the Imre PREV record.3S.PST that show.3S PREV the child.PL.DAT

y profes:or nem tom mi

he Professor not know.1S what

‘Imre recorded it to show it to kids (lit. to let it out to the kids). He is a professor or something’.

(545)

nem urɔ hoʃ ki ɛrɛsd ə kəpun uta nem jø visrɔ
 no can.2S that PREV let the gate after not go.3S back

‘You cannot let her out the gate because she won’t come home.’

In conclusion, it has been shown that NMH reflexive predicates consist of a semantically restricted set of predicate whose meanings fall in the classes of motion verbs and change in mental state. My findings fit Kemmer’s claim that one cannot find in the grammars of the world meanings deponents with meanings such as ‘hit oneself’, ‘see oneself’, and ‘love oneself’. Finally, out of 18 *kɛd/kɛz* middle verbs 8 were lexical middles; whereas out of 79 *ud/yd* middle verbs there were 7 lexical middles.

8.4 Syntactic Reflexive Middles in NMH

As already mentioned in chapter 6 a syntactic reflexive construction in NMH is formed with the active form of the verb plus the reflexive anaphoric operator *maga* or in some cases the middle form of the verb and the anaphoric operator

maga. The anaphoric operator takes a variety of case markings none of which is nominative. It is formed of *maga* plus the possessive ending.

In many languages of the world reflexives typically derive from expression of body parts such as ‘body’ in Igbo and Japanese, ‘head’ in Abkhaz, ‘soul’ in Modern Standard Arabic, ‘bone’ in Hebrew, ‘heart’ in Dongolese Nubian and ‘skin’ in Ngiti (taken from Konig and Siemund Chapter 47 The World Atlas of Language Structures). In NMH the origin of lexical origin of the reflexive anaphoric operator *maga/mogo/mɔga* is not transparent. There is though an identical word *mogo* in NMH which means ‘seed’, as illustrated in the sentences below. However, if these two words are related is not known to me.

(546)

dyti	ə	mogot	ə	gloriabə
collect.3S	the	seed.ACC	the	combine.harvester.ILLIN

‘It collects the seeds into the combine harvester.’

(547)

mɛg siet:ɛm mogomot hoʔ vigez:ɛm ɛl

PREV hurry.1S self.1S.ACC that finish.1S PREV

‘I overdid the hurrying to finish it / I made myself hurry to finish it.’

(548)

sə tesəd be **mogɔʃkat** ɔst ə fylbe se ny ki

and put.2S PREV seed.DIM.ACC that the ground.ILLIN and grow.3S out

‘And you put the little seed into the ground and it grows out.’

(549)

ɛz nɛm jət se nɛ mig mɛp:ɛk **mogɔʃkamrə** is

the not come.3S and not go.1S self.DIM.SUBL too

‘He just wouldn’t come and now I have to go by myself.’

In this paper reflexives and intensifiers are considered in tandem since in NMH as in many other languages reflexive anaphoric operators and intensifiers are identical in form. For example, in English they are identical in form and they differentiate only in terms of distribution. I will show that in NMH they differentiate in terms of taking different case markings.

There are languages in which they are formally differentiated upon in this case the intensifier can be used to reinforce reflexive pronouns. Examples of such languages are German in which the reflexive pronoun *sich* can be intensified by the intensifier *selbst* as in *Paul kritisierte sich selbst* ‘Paul criticized himself’ or Romanian in which the reflexive marker *se* can be intensified by the intensifier *însuși* as in *Ion se cearta pe el însuși* ‘John is scolding himself’.

Although the anaphoric reflexive operator can function both as a reflexive and as an intensifier, the situation in NMH is similar to Romanian in the sense, that former the morphological middle marker can occur with the reflexive anaphoric operator as illustrated below.

(550)

mæg	ly-yd-et	maga-nək
PREV	shoot-MID-3S.PST	self.3S.-DAT

‘He shot himself.’

As these types of constructions are correlated to the entire discussion of the functions that the syntactic anaphoric operator and the constructions per se can hold, they will be discussed as well in the subsequent discussion.

In conclusion, the following section will present all the predicates that can occur with all the anaphoric operators in their different case markings discussing their functions in correlation with their case markings when relevant.

As a first step to analyze the syntactic reflexive middle construction in NMH, I looked at all case forms the reflexive anaphoric operator occurred in and checked the verb types, the subject types of the constructions it occurred in. The following are the results of this search.

8.4.1 The Accusative reflexive anaphoric operator

Verb	English translation	Nr of occurrences
byz	smell	1
sərət	pat/strike	4
buzul	sadden	1
ɲuz	skin	1
pedəpsiʌ	punish	1
ver	hit	2
mər	bite	2
erzi	feel	2
jar	take a walk	3
teydik	pretend	1
yl ⁸⁵	sit/but used here in the sense of turn oneself	1

Table 83 Exhaustive Verb List Verbs with the Accusative Reflexive Anaphoric operator

The anaphoric operator *maga* occurred 20 times in accusative case. One can see that out of 20 occurrences 11 are self directed verbs such *bite oneself*, *skin oneself*, and *hit oneself*, *smell oneself*, *pat/strike oneself*. These constructions convey self directed actions and can be considered the more **canonical reflexive middle** constructions. Other less frequent middle semantic situation types

⁸⁵ sau s b s t j , m g ylt magat / or sour milk, it turned itself sour.

expressed by means of the syntactic accusative middle construction are change of mental state such as the emotion situations for example, *sadden oneself*, *feel well* and cognition situations such as *pretend*, motion middles such as in *take a walk*. Hence, one can conclude that the syntactic reflexive construction with the anaphoric operator marked with accusative occurs most frequently occurs in self directed actions of impact verbs such as *hit*, *bite* and so on. Finally, out of 20 examples, only 1 had an inanimate agent/subject as in the spontaneous event *the milk turning itself sour*. Hence, the accusative marked reflexive middle constructions follow Faltz's characteristic of the archetypical reflexive construction in the sense that it is realized as a simple clause with two nominal arguments, a human agent or experience and a patient.

Examples:

Self directed actions

(551)

en mæg byzgeltem mægomət sɛ nɛm vɔjək bydɛs:

I PREV smell.1S self.1S.ACC and not be.1S smelly

‘I smelled myself and I am not smelly.’

(552)

maj pɔrɔst nɪʃ min kɛl vɛri mɔɡat

kind.of stupid be.3S.NEG need hit.3S self.3S.ACC

‘He is kind of stupid, he hits himself.’

Motion verbs

(553)

mɛnɛn y ɪs jarjə mæg mɔɡat dɛ nɛm mɛnɛn

go.3S she and go.SUBJ.3S PREV self.3S.ACC but not go.3S

‘She should go and take a walk but she doesn't go.’

Change of mental state middle (emotive situations and cognition)

(554)

εz	ε	bubə	nəm	erzi	məgat	jui,	εgis:iges:i
the	this	child	not	feel.3S	self.3S.ACC	well,	healthy

‘This child doesn’t feel well, healthy.’

As can be seen no grooming and body care verbs occurred in syntactic middle constructions, i.e. the active form of the verb plus the reflexive anaphoric operator *maga* in accusative case. This point will be discussed in section 8.5 which compares syntactic and morphological reflexive middle constructions.

8.4.2 The Dative reflexive anaphoric operator

Verb	English translation	Nr of occurrences
mər	bite (MID)	2
yt	hit/stab when used with the noun knife	2
ly	shoot	2 (1 MID)
ʃipyl	pinch (MID)	1
ʃɔpəl	hit (MID)	2
vag	cut (MID)	1
ʃufəl	shame (MID)	2
sideʒik	ashamed	1
pedepsil	punish (MID)	1

Table 84 Exhaustive Verb List Verbs with the Dative Reflexive Anaphoric operator

The anaphoric operator *maga* in Dative case occurred 14 times out of which in 10 instances the middle form of the verb is used. Out of the 14 occurrences of the reflexive anaphoric operator in dative case 10 occurrences were of *self directed actions with impact by force verbs* such as *bite oneself, stab oneself, cut oneself*. Out of these 10 instances 8 instances used the middle form of the verb. Finally, all the subjects in the dative constructions had an animate agent. In other words, the dative reflexive middle anaphoric operator always referred back to an animate noun.

The following are some examples of its usage in a sentence.

(555)

zion	inɛkelt	uɬɔn	ros:ul	uɬɔn	rutul	hoʃ	sidʒelte	y	maganək
John	sing.3S.PST	so	bad.ADV	so	bad.ADV	that	shame.3S.PST	he	self.3S.DAT

‘John was singing so badly that he was shamed about it.’

(556)

be	ytɛ	kest	maganək
PREV	hit.3S.PST	knife.ACC	self.3S.DAT

‘He stabbed himself with a knife.’

(557)

mɛg	ʃipylydet	maganək	hodʒ	lɛʒik	sip
PREV	pinch.MID.3S.PST	self.3S.DAT	that	be.3S.SUBJ	beautiful

‘She pinched herself on her own in order to be beautiful.’

What is the function of the dative middle anaphoric Operator? In order to answer this question the following topics will be discussed briefly: a) the function of the dative case in NMH, b) the function of the dative middle anaphoric operator when it occurs with an active verb vs. instances when it

occurs with a middle marked verb, and c) the difference between the dative anaphoric operator and the accusative one in cases in which the same verb can be used with *maganək* or with *magat*.

a) The function of the Dative case in NMH

The function of the Dative case especially the notion of dative experiencer and possession is a hard core research topic both in generative linguistics as well as in typological and cognitive studies. It is not my attempt to even try to discuss this subject for NMH which could have been the topic of a dissertation on its own right. However, as this topic is of relevance to the function of the syntactic reflexive middle construction formed with the dative anaphoric operator *maganək*, some of the dative case functions are going to be briefly discussed below.

The most common function of the dative case is as a recipient of a particular transmission – as in ‘*father bought **me** a present*’ or in some cases a benefactor/malefactor of a particular transmission as in ‘*father wanted to make a*

wedding *for his daughter* ‘or as in ‘*don’t leave the bread uncut, chop it for the kids*’, and finally as in ‘*my husband slapped **me** twice*’.

(558)

tatə vet: nekem i kadoot
father buy.3S.PST me a present.ACC

‘Father bought me a present.’

(559)

y əkɔrt ʃap:ənd mənəkəzyt ə ʎapənək
he want.3S.PST make wedding the girl.DAT

‘He wanted to make a wedding for his daughter.’

(560)

kjɲɛrt nɛ hɔdʒ:ɔd vagɔtlɔnd, vagd ɛl ɛ kɪʃidɛknɛk
bread.ACC not leave.2S uncut, cut.2S PREV the little.one.PL.DAT

‘Don’t leave the bread uncut, chop it for the kids.’

(561)

be vit, lɛ vɛsi ɔ sijut, most ɛl fɛlɛjtɛtɛm,
 PREV take.3S.PST, PREV take.3S the belt.ACC, and PREV forget.1S.PST

kə kɛtyt vagot nɛkɛm s harɔmɔt ɔ marimnɛk
 because twice cut.3S.PST me and three.times the Mary.DAT

‘He took me in, took his belt off, and I forgot because he whipped me twice and Mary three times with the belt.’

The Dative can also function as the so-called dative experiencer as in the following two sentences.

(562)

nɛkɛm kɛl lɛjik pitʃukam hond
 me need be potato.1S.GEN home

‘I need potato at home.’

(563)

nekem seryt: ə fogom
 me hurt.3S.PST the tooth.1S.PST

‘My tooth hurt.’

b) The function of the middle reflexive anaphoric operator when it occurs with an active verb vs. when it occurs with a middle marked verb

In the following three sentences the dative marked anaphoric operator occurs with an active verb. In sentences (564) and (565) the semantic function of *maganək* can be seen as a kind of recipient of the particular transmission, who however, in (564) also is the possessor of the body part which is the direct recipient of the action. In (566) one could claim that the dative middle also functions as an experiencer.

(564)

vəʃək i ʃep:et bolond ytem ε femet mɔgəmnək
 be.1S a little crazy hit.1S the head.GEN.ACC self.1S.DAT

‘I’m a little crazy and I’m hitting my head, myself.’

(565)

be yt:ε kest maganək
 PREV hit.3S.PST knife.ACC self.3S.DAT

‘He stabbed himself.’

(566)

zion inəkelt uʕən ros:ul uʕən rutul hoʃ sidʒelte y maganək
 John sing.3S.PST so bad.ADV so bad.ADV that shame.3S.PST he self.3S.DAT

‘John was singing so badly that he was shamed about it.’

In the cases in which the verb itself is already middle marked as illustrated below, I claim that the function of the middle anaphoric operator is purely emphatic because the verb itself already signals that the action was done reflexively to oneself, and the addition of the anaphoric operator *maganək* signals empathy, the fact that the agent of the action suffered when doing it or in

some cases the speaker's surprise that someone could have done a particular action to oneself.

(567)

ɔ̃p:əbə	mɛg	bantə	midʒesit
so.much.ILLIN	PREV	regret.3S.PST	neighbor.ACC

mɛg	lyydet	maganək
PREV	shoot.MID.3S.PST	self.3S.DAT

'He regretted his neighbor so much that he shot himself.'

(568)

en	mɛg	mərut:əm,	en	məgəmnək
I	PREV	bite.MID.3S,	I	self.1S.DAT

'I bit myself, I myself.'

c) the difference between the dative anaphoric operator and the accusative

one in cases in which the same verb can be used with *maganək* or with *magat*

(569)

y	məganək	mərudik,	mərjə	magat
he	self.3S.DAT	bite.MID.3S,	bite.3S	self.3S.ACC

‘It is biting itself.’

(570)

pedepsiludik	dakə	ront	vələmit,	pedepsiludik	məg	maganək
punish.MID.3S	when	break.3S	something.ACC,	punish.MID	PREV	self.3S.DAT

‘He punishes himself when he breaks something, he punishes himself.’

(571)

ɛz	ɛ	dʒɛrmək	dərɪk
this	the	child	well.behaved

ʃɛt	ront	vələmit	ok:or	magat	pedɛpsɪlə	məg
when	break.3S	something.ACC	then	self.3S.ACC	punish.3S	PREV

‘This child is well-behaved; when he breaks something he punishes himself.’

As can be seen from the above sentences, whenever the consultants made use of the dative anaphoric operator the verb they used was in its middle form; whereas, with the accusative anaphoric operator the active form of the verb was used. Here again, one can claim that the dative *maganək* functions as an intensifier. It emphasizes the consultants' surprise that the subject did it to himself. This act is beyond the consultants' expectations. Whereas, the accusative anaphoric operator construction simply conveys a self directed actions and can be considered the more **canonical reflexive middle** constructions. In other words, the function is to encode coreference.

8.4.3 The Ablative Reflexive Anaphoric Operator

The anaphoric operator *maga* marked with Ablative Case (*tul*) occurred 15 times in the present database, out of which 4 times with a middle marked verb. Out of 15 instances only 6 instances were with an animate subject. Hence, it is used more frequently with **inanimate subjects** than animate ones.

INANIMATE SUBJECT		
Verb	English Translation	Nr of occurrences
ver	hit-but here used for the clock strikes by itself	1
həs	split (one time MID həsitudik)	2
ront	break (MID)	1
foʎ	leak (the nose run/leaked)	2
romlik	break	1
porul	break/shatter /crumble (MID)	1
jø	come by itself (the sun will come by itself)	1
ANIMATE SUBJECTS		
Verb	English Translation	Nr of occurrences
mɛɲɛn	go by oneself	3
mutal	move X by oneself	1
ɛdʒik	eat by oneself (with no help)	1
løkik	push by himself (MID)	1

Table 85 Exhaustive Verb List Verbs with the Ablative Reflexive Anaphoric operator

As can be seen from the above table out of 15 occurrences, 9 usages are in spontaneous event constructions (anti-causatives), in which something happens to an inanimate actor on its own without any intervention. In the majority of cases verbs of destruction /impact verbs such as *hit*, *split*, *break*, *shatter*, *crumble* participated in these constructions. The other 6 instances with animate subjects were with movement verbs such *go*, *move*, and one example with *push* and one with *eat*.

(572)

dakə vɔjənd zurajə fənd ɛ turnal

if be.3S clock up the steeple

ok:or ɔz vɛr y magatul, nɛm huz:ə senki

then the hit.3S he self.3S.ABL, no pull.3S not.who

‘If it has a clock up in the steeple then it strikes by itself, no one is pulling it.’

(573)

dʒɛrmək ɔsontə nɛm tudom mam, ɛl həsət magatul
 boy say.3S.PST not know.1S mother, PREV break.3S.PST self.3S.ABL

‘The kid said I don't know mother, it broke by itself.’

(574)

odo visnek masək odo nɛm mɛnɛk mɔgɔmtul
 there take.3S others there not go.1S self.1S.ABL

‘Others will take me there, I won't go there (to the cemetery) by myself.’

Here again it is of importance to briefly discuss the general function of the ablative case in NMH. The ablative case in NMH is usually used to express movement away from the proximity of the referent of the noun stem.

(575)

fut ə mɔʃkatul ə bikɔʃkə,
 run.3S the cat.ABL the frog.DIM

‘The froggie is running away from the cat.’

(576)

hod₃ vɛd₃ prəʒiturat magazintul, dugjanatul,
 that buy.3S cake.ACC store.ABL, small.shop.ABL

‘Instead of buying cakes from the store / small shop,’

However, there are cases in which the ablative marked argument is understood as the cause of the event. So for example, in the following sentence the oblique object the dog which is marked Ablative is the cause of why the white cat has to beware.

(577)

i fejer moʃkə yreʒkɛdik ə kuʃatul
 a white cat beware.3S the dog.ABL

‘A white cat is beware of the dog.’

Here again one can see an ablative cause in an anti-causative domain. The sun which is marked ablative is added to the spontaneous event of the subject getting black, so adding the cause of the event. Thus, the ablative noun can be both animate and inanimate.

(578)

mæg fɛketyltel ɛ nɔptul

PREV black.MID.3S.PST the sun.ABL

‘The sun has blackened you.’

The fact that the ablative marked noun can function as the cause of an event is discussed in great detail in Rakosi (2007, 2009) about Hungarian. Rakosi’s main claim is that ablative PP’s in Hungarian should be considered some kind of Ablative causes. He provides examples of ablatives in Hungarian that introduce a kind of oblique case to the event as in *the window opened from the draught-ABL*.

In NMH one can view the reflexive middle construction with an ablative anaphoric operator as an extension of these cases. On the one hand, these ablative nouns can be treated like adjuncts because of their crucial property that they are optionally inserted. These ablative causes are usually found in anti-causatives, as exemplified above. On the other hand, one can group them together with other PP’s such as the comitative (*I went to the movie with*

friends), instrumental (*I opened the door with the key*), benefactive (*I opened the door for John*), experiencer (*It seems good to me*) because although syntactically optional they do name a participant that is internal and necessary to the event. Hence, in *the window broke (by) itself*, the Ablative marked reflexive middle anaphoric operator introduces the information, that the causer was the window itself and not some other external entity such as the wind or a human being.

(579)

dʒermək	osontə	nəm	tudom	mam,	ɛl	həsət	magatul
boy	say.3S.PST	not	know.1S	mother,	PREV	break.3S.PST	self.3S.ABL

‘The kid said I don't know mother, it broke by itself.’

The following is the discourse out of which the above sentence was singled out. The story that the consultant was telling was about a neighbor mom who came home and found the window broken. She asked the child who broke the window; the child explained that he does not know; it broke by itself. There was no other causer in the action just the window itself.

In conclusion, the ablative anaphoric operator emphasizes that the subject of the sentence is the causer of the event and that there was no other external help needed.

8.4.4 The Sublative Reflexive Anaphoric Operator

Magarə SUBLATIVE 36 times

The verbs that occurred with *magarə* were not as versatile as in the case of *maga* in other case forms as illustrated below.

Verb	English translation	Nr of occurrences
yl	live by oneself, sit	5
(nem) urɔ/ (nem) urɔ ʃan	can(not),can(not) do	13
ʃan	do, repair	2
mərɔd	remain, stay, be left	3
hɔdʒ	leave	3
mɛnɛn ɛ mɛsinaəl	drive	1
vɛtkɛzɛl	dress	1
bujil	paint	1
hɛʌ	repair, fix	1
vɔts	be.2S.PRES	2
dolgozik	work	1
ɛdʒ	eat	1

Table 86 Exhaustive Verb List Verbs with the Sublative Reflexive Anaphoric operator

There were two instances without a predicate, as in the following two sentences. The first one is the expression, only child.

(580)

məgarə zɔɲ:aiknal

own.3S.SUBL mom.3S.POSS.ADE

‘An only child’(lit. by herself to her mother)

(581)

məgədrə, hul ɛ zəmbərd?

own.2S.SUBL, where the husband.2S.POSS

‘Alone, where is your husband?’

From 36 times only 2 occurrences with an inanimate subject as in *tfukmon nɛm verɛsyl mɛt kə nɛm urɔ magarə* ‘the egg won’t redden by itself because it cannot make it by itself’. In all the other 34 examples the agent/subject was animate. The meaning of *magarə* in most cases is x is doing something alone, without any help. Usually the agent could or couldn’t do something on its own

13 instances. Most instances were with static verbs such as remain, stay, leave behind etc.

(582)

magarə	yl
self.3S.SUBL	alone

‘She lives alone.’

(583)

oz	ə	rezul	uʎɔn	alintalt
that	the	king	this.kind	spoilt

ult	nem	ʃant	sem:isket	mɔgarə
be.3S.PST	not	do.3S.PST	anything.ACC	self.3S.SUBL

‘That king was so spoilt that he wouldn't do anything for himself.’

(584)

bunika	ɛl	mərɔt	magarə	rəzbjeltyl
grandmother	PREV	leave.3S.PST	self.3S.SUBL	war.ABL

‘Grandma was left alone after the war.’

Usage of the Sublative

The sublative in NMH expresses a direction towards a goal. Sublative has been called by some an external case because it can be described as mostly carrying the semantic feature [+ coincidence] quite like the English prepositions *on* and *onto* for which OED gives the following primary definitions: *on* ‘above and in contact with; at rest on the upper surface of; above and supported by’ and *onto* ‘to a position or state on or upon (a floor, chair, stage, etc.); so as to be supported by (a part of the body); so as to be transported by (an animal or vehicle).’ Finally, it can also extend to sentences such as looking towards someone’s direction.

(585)

de est ε kændert kəl vid: ə muldoarə

but this the hemp.ACC need take.2S the Moldova.river.SUBL

‘But you need to take this hemp to the Moldova (river).’

(586)

dakə el jøts vɔlə ə buʃurə

If PREV come.2S be.PST the fair.SUBL

meg latəd vɔlə ə zen kovoromot

PREV see.2S be.PST the I carpet.GEN.ACC

‘If you had come to the fair you would have seen my carpet.’

In few cases it can exhibit a meaning of direction towards an exterior part of the Goal as in the following sentence. The topic of the sentence was my colleague’s feet. The consultant asked her to put them on the slippers in order for her feet not freeze.

(587)

ɛj mɛg foʃ tɛd fɛl ə pəpusrə
 now PREV freeze.3S put.3S PREV the slippers.SUBL

‘Now now, it will freeze put them on the slippers.’

(588)

ɛl tatə saʃat ɛl nəzɛt ə ʁɛapɾə
 PREV drop.3S.PST jaw.ACC PREV look.3S.PST the girl.SUBL

‘His jaws dropped and he gazed at the girl.’

Some claim that a pronoun is regarded as emphatic as long as it is clearly optional as in *Ich habe das selbst gemacht/I have done it by myself* and that as soon as it is obligatory it is classified as a real reflexive marker whose source is the emphatic pronoun. If one follows this claim then not all the cases with the anaphoric operator *magarə* can be considered pure emphatics because they are not optional, as in *magarə yl* ‘she lives by herself’, alone or in *bunika el mərɔt* *magarə rəzbjeltyl* ‘grandma was left alone after the war’. However, its usage is

optional in a sentence such as *mæg hελετ:ε bitʃikletat magari* ‘he repaired the bike by himself / without help’.

In conclusion, this section has advanced the claim that one can differentiate between reflexives and emphatics based on the different case markings that they take. Hence, the fact that the reflexive middle anaphoric operator can occur in so many different forms (case markings) signals that one needs to check the predicates that can occur in each construction, the subject in those constructions, as well as the semantic features of the constructions themselves.

It has been shown that although the ablative anaphoric operator is syntactically optional it does name a participant that is internal and necessary to the event. It functions as an ablative causer, expressing the fact that the subject of the sentence itself was the causer of the event and no other external entity. This goes hand in hand with well known analyses that claim that one of the main functions of ablative marked is the cause of an event, introducing a kind of oblique case of the event. Rakosi (2007, 2009) claims that ablative PP’s in

Hungarian should be considered some kind of Ablative causes. Regarding sublativ anaphoric operators it has been shown that in most cases they do function as intensifiers with the meaning that the action has been done with no help, by oneself. Moreover, the dative anaphoric operator was shown to be in most cases a clear case of emphatic pronoun especially emphasizing the fact that the speaker is surprised and did not expect the particular act to be done by the subject towards himself. In all these cases it has been shown that NMH uses the middle marked verb in combination with the dative *maganək*. In the very few cases in which the dative *maganək* occurred with an active form of the verb its function was more of a recipient of the transmission especially an experiencer. Finally, the accusative anaphoric operator *magat* was under discussion showing that this is a clear cut case of coreference between two semantic roles, a human agent and its patient. It occurred in most of the cases with self-directed impact by force verbs.

8.5 Syntactic vs. morphological syntactic reflexive middle constructions

Firstly, all the verbs in the database that occurred in syntactic reflexive middle constructions will be singled out checking which of these verbs can also occur with the morphological middle construction. Whenever, two verbs can occur in both light and heavy form the difference in meaning will be analyzed. Secondly, the semantic classes of predicates that can occur with syntactic middles will be compared with the ones that occur with morphological middles and see if here as well generalizations as to which types of verbs can occur in which constructions can be made.

8.5.1 Occurrence of the same verb in syntactic and morphological middle

constructions – a comparison

The following tables illustrate the results of the check. These two environments will be analyzed as to the differences in their meaning and usage.

Verb with magat	Verb with middle marker	English translation
byz	yes	smell
səret	no	pat/strike
nəz	yes	look
buzul	no	sadden
ɲuz	yes	skin
pedəpsiʎ	yes	punish
ver	yes	hit
mər	yes	bite
erzi	yes	feel
jar	no	take a walk
teydik	yes	pretend
yl	no	sit/but used here in the sense of turn oneself

Table 87 Comparison Occurrence of the same verb in syntactic (marked with magat) and morphological middle constructions

Verb with magatul	Verb with middle marker	English translation/meaning
ver	yes	hit-but here used for the clock strikes by itself
həs	yes	split (one time MID həsitudik)
foɬ	no	leak (the nose run/leaked)
romlik	no	break
jø	no	come by itself (the sun will come by itself)
mənən	no	go by oneself
mutal	yes	move X by oneself
ədʒik	yes	eat by oneself (with no help)

Table 88 Comparison Occurrence of the same verb in syntactic (marked with magatul) and morphological middle constructions

Here I only looked at the verbs which occurred with *magatul* without a reflexive middle marker, i.e. the active verb plus *magatul* constructions were compared with the verb in its middle form without *magatul* constructions.

Verb with magarə	Verb with middle marker	English translation
yl	no	live by oneself, sit
(nem) urɔ/ (nem) urɔ ʃan	no	can(not),can(not) do
ʃan	yes	do, repair
mɔrɔd	no	remain, stay, be left
hɔdʒ	yes hɔdʒudik (follow)	leave
mɛɲɛn ɛ mɛsinaəl	no	drive
vɛtkɛzɛl	no	dress
bujil	no	paint
hɛʌ	yes	repair, fix
vɔts	no	be.2S.PRES
dolgozik	no	work
ɛdʒ	yes	eat

Table 89 Comparison -Occurrence of the same verb in syntactic (marked with magar) and morphological middle constructions

The difference in the reading between syntactic middle constructions and morphological middle constructions that occur with the same verb can be characterized as follows: the syntactic middle construction had only one reading which was a clear cut correspondence between the reflexive anaphoric operator and the agent of the sentence, i.e. the agent of the sentence did a particular action to himself; whereas, the morphological middle construction had two readings available one was a spontaneous event and the other a reflexive event as

illustrated in the cases of *pul* ‘skin’ and *ver* ‘hit’, and *mor* ‘bite’. This finding confirms Haiman’s claim that greater phonological/morphological substance is associated with a greater degree of distinguishability of participants, and a greater degree of distinguishability of events. Events characterized as lower on a scale of either of these semantic parameters have less formal substance. Hence, the grammatical device available for this kind of distinctions in NMH is the middle markers *ud/yd* and *ked/kez*. Furthermore, in some instances no differences between the usages of the two different types of middle constructions could be observed. This might be due to lack of enough such instances in the database or just that in some cases the consultants used these constructions indistinguishably, as in the case of *pedepsil* ‘punish’ and *byz* ‘smell’.

In the case of the syntactic reflexive middle construction the only reading available is one in which the subject of the sentence could not skin herself; whereas, in the case of the morphological middle construction two readings were found in the database depending on the story the consultant told me. One reading

was the spontaneous or passive-like reading that the subject of the sentence got skinned and the other one was the reflexive middle reading that the subject of the sentence did the action to herself.

(589)

magat	nɛm	urɔ	mɛg	ɲuzɛə
self.3S.ACC	not	can	PREV	skin.3S

‘She cannot skin herself.’

(590)

lɛ	ɲuzudot
PREV	skin.MID.3S.PST

‘She got skinned.’

(591)

y lɛ ɲuzudɔt

he PREV skin.3S.PST

‘He skinned himself.’

The same can be said about the verb *mɔr*. In its use with a reflexive anaphoric operator the only reading available is that the child bites himself; whereas in the case of the middle morphological reflexive marker, the meaning can be spontaneous or passive like that the hand got beaten or reflexive that the dog bit himself.

(592)

ɛz ɛ bubə maj oʃmaj, mɔrjo magat

this the child really ugly, bite.3S self.3S.ACC

‘This child is really ugly, he bites himself.’

(593)

mæg mǫrtǫ bīndar sɛ mæg mǫrudot ɛ kɛzɛ

PREV bite.3S.PST bee and PREV bite.MID.3S.PST the hand

‘The bee stung her and her hand got stung.’

(594)

kuʃɔ mæg mǫrudot

dog PREV bite.MID.3S.PST

‘The dog bit himself.’

There were cases in which only the passive-like reading is available as in the following sentence.

(595)

muntǫ kǝ hij:ɔ ɛl ykɛt hulnǫp is

say.3S.PST that invite.3S PREV they.3PL.ACC tomorrow too

ɛydʒik mæg ɛ zɛbid

eat.MID.3S PREV the food

‘He said he would invite people tomorrow too so that the food would get eaten.’

(596)

mōligo fēɛ mæg ɛyɖet

polenta half PREV eat.3S.PST

‘Half of the polenta was eaten.’

(597)

ɛz ɛ dʒermək vɛri magat

this the boy hit.3S self.3S.ACC

‘This boy is hitting himself.’

(598)

dakə ɛsik kə vɛrydik

if fall.3S because hit.MID.3S

‘If he falls down he hits himself.’

(599)

beteg sɛ vɛrydik ɛ fylthɛz

sick and hit.3S.MID the ground.ALL

‘He is sick and he is hitting the ground, convulsing.’

(600)

(ɛl ertik ə zɔstɔlt sɛ pahar)

(‘They reached the table and the glass.’)

lɛ vɛrydet

PREV hit.MID.3S

‘It got hit off the table.’

The morphological middle construction expresses a more unexpected event he hit himself but not on purpose, he did not feel well, or the agent fell down; whereas, the syntactic middle construction really only illustrates a situation in which the Agent truly hit himself with his palm or any other object and it was on purpose. He did not agree with something or as the consultant put it he is a little bit stupid and hits himself. In the case of the reflexive morphological middle both meanings are possible, the *child hits himself*, *bruises himself* on purpose or it is just a cause of the fact that he fell down. In the case of the syntactic

reflexive middle the second meaning of the spontaneous happening of the bruising is unavailable. The agent is responsible of the fact and he is the causer of the event. Hence, if one tries to go one step further in the analysis of the differences in the meaning between the heavy and light middle form, one can say that in the case of the heavy form the speaker emphasizes that the object of ‘hitting’ is surprisingly the same entity as the subject (‘he must be stupid so he hit himself’), as opposed to some other actual potential entity in the discourse. Thus, the degree of volitionality of the Initiator/Agent is higher in the case of the heavy form than in the case of the light form.

The following are the cases in which no difference in meaning could be found.

(601)

pedepsiludik	dakə	ront	vəʎəmit,	pedepsiludik	məg	maganək
punish.MID.3S	when	break.3S	something.ACC,	punish.MID	PREV	self.DAT

‘He punishes himself when he breaks something, he punishes himself.’

(602)

εz ε dʒermək dɔrik

this the child well.behaved

ʃet ront vəʎəmit ok:or magat pedεpsiʎə mεg

when break.3S something.ACC then self.3S.ACC punish.3S PREV

‘This child is well-behaved; when he breaks something he punishes himself.’

(603)

en mεg byzgeltεm mɔgɔmɔt sε nεm vɔjək bydεs:

I PREV smell.1S.PST self.1S.ACC and not be.1S smelly

‘I smelled myself and I am not smelly.’

(604)

ə kuʃə byzgelydik, sε mɔʃkɔ ɲɔludik

the dog smell.MID.3S, and cat lick.MID.3S

‘The dog smells itself and the cat licks itself.’

In conclusion, in a language such as NMH with light and heavy reflexive forms there is a difference in the distribution of these two forms. It has been shown that the heavy form is usually used with transitive predicates to produce a reflexive middle reading and the light form tends to be used for a reflexive middle reading or a spontaneous middle reading. Moreover, the degree of volitionality of the Agent is higher in the heavy form construction than in the light form construction and so is the degree of distinguishability between the two participants. The next section will show that grooming, and body care middle semantic situation types can only emerge with a verb in the light form. There are languages in which the heavy form is possible with these verbs as well but then it conveys different kind of information.

8.5.2 Predicates that can occur only in one of the two middle constructions

In section 8.5.1 I have compared cases in which the same verb occurred in syntactic middle constructions and in morphological middle constructions and have shown the differences in the meaning and usage.

In this section these two types of middle constructions will be compared regarding the predicates that can occur only with one or the other. After a thorough analysis one can conclude that grooming and body care verbs never occurred with the reflexive anaphoric operator; they always occurred with the relevant middle morphological marker, *ud/yd* or *kɛd/kɛz*.

This particular point is under constant discussion in linguistic literature when discussing heavy vs. light reflexive marking. This topic has been firstly clearly pointed out by Faltz 1985 but already circulated in 1977. It was then prominently discussed in Haimann (1983) and more recently by König & Siemund (2000a), König & Vezzosi (2004), and Smith (2004). The reflexive-marking forms

employed with extroverted verbs are at least as long (or ‘heavy’) as the reflexive-marking forms employed with introverted verbs.

There are languages that show such differences and languages that do not.

The following table illustrates a short list of these occurrences.

Language	Extroverted verb	Introverted verb
English	hate oneself	shave Ø
Hungarian	utálja mag-á-t ‘hate onself’	borotvál- koz- ‘shave’
Romanian	se vede pe sine însuși ‘sees himself’	se spală ‘washes’
Hebrew	roe et atsmo ‘he sees himself’	hit- raxets ‘washes’

Table 90 Reflexive marking employed with Extroverted and introverted verbs in different languages

Languages lacking an introversion/extroversion contrast (like German) do not contradict this claim, although they provide no evidence for it.

Following Haspelmath’s approach presented in section 8.1. I will check the frequency of usage of some grooming and body care verbs in NMH in my database and see if the fact that grooming verbs never occurred in syntactic reflexive constructions (heavy construction) but always in morphological

reflexive middle construction (light construction) can be explained by looking at the difference in usage. I will check in which type of constructions do the verb *mos* ‘wash’ and *fysyl* ‘comb’ occur, do they occur more frequently in disjoint constructions such as *X washes someone* or more frequently in reflexive constructions *X washes oneself* / ‘X washes’. Furthermore, in disjoint constructions it is important to check the type of the second participant.

Out of **93** times of occurrences of the verb *mos* ‘wash’, it appeared in **disjoint constructions 42** times and **30** times in reflexive construction. In reciprocal constructions with an anaphoric operator it appeared **3** times.

Hence, if one looks at the frequency of usage results, the claim that the verb *mos* is most commonly conceptualized as an action done on oneself more frequently than on others proves to be wrong. It occurred 42 times in disjoint constructions and only 30 times in reflexive constructions. But when analyzing the data closely, one can see that out of the 42 disjoint constructions it was used **35 times** as an action performed on another entity, and this entity was an

inanimate object such *washing the dishes, washing the hemp, washing the carpet, washing the blouse*, and only 7 times in disjoint constructions with animate objects such as the *mother washed the baby* and *now the dead are washed in these kind of wooden tubs*. Thus, when the action is done on another entity and not on oneself, only 7 times is this entity animate out of the 42 occurrences. Moreover, even in the case of the inanimate patient 18 times was the washed entity a **body part** so still in the agent's sphere.

In the case of the verb *fysyl* 'comb' the results are even clearer. Out of 29 occurrences, 20 instances were of the reflexive usage such as *fysyli ə həjat*

'She is combing her hair' and *ez ə ʎaŋ fysylydik həs:u nəp hoʃ sɛrɛs:ik ɛ lɛɡinɛk* 'This girl is combing herself all day so the boys would like her', 3 reciprocal usages and 6 in disjoint constructions such as *mamə fysyli ə ʎaŋoʃkajat* 'mother is combing her little girl'.

Hence, the fact that these two grooming and body care verbs were used more frequently in reflexive constructions, i.e. in cases in which the action was done

to oneself then in disjoint constructions, i.e. the action was done to another entity and in these cases as shown with *mos* more frequently on an inanimate patient then on an animate one, explains their behavior that they are always used in NMH with a morphological middle marker on the verb and never with a reflexive anaphoric operator.

Finally, let us check two extroverted verbs such as *hit*, and *hate* and see how they behave.

If the findings show that *hit* occurs more frequently in disjoint construction then in reflexive construction then the prediction would be that the verb *hit* will occur more frequently with the heavy marker in other words in syntactic constructions and less frequently or not at all with morphological middle markers the light construction.

The verb *ver* ‘hit’, occurred 143 times in the database, out of which 116 times in disjoint constructions, 9 times in syntactic reciprocal constructions, 18 times in constructions that I considered reflexive constructions. Out of these 18

reflexive constructions only one construction was with a reflexive anaphoric operator *magat*, 4 constructions were considered reflexive because the subject hit a body part of his such as *veri ε zortsait* ‘she hit her cheeks’, 4 constructions occurred with the morphological marker *kεd/kεz*, with the meaning of he is aggressive, and 7 constructions with the morphological middle marker *ud/yd*. Out of these 7 constructions only one construction had the reflexive meaning *he hit himself*, the other 6 had the spontaneous meaning of he *fell down*, so *hitting himself*, *bruising himself*. Nevertheless, if one takes the frequency of usage as an important indicator to explaining heavy vs. light reflexive marking, the results of the database with extroverted verbs such as *hit* does not provide the expected results. Namely, as the verb *hit* occurred more frequently with disjoint constructions it should be the case that when used reflexively it should occur with the reflexive anaphoric operator and not or at least less frequently with the light reflexive marker in this case the morphological middle markers. In NMH however, this was not the case.

The second extroverted verb I looked at was *dylyl* 'hate'. Out of 30 occurrences of the verb in the database, there were 15 instances of disjoint constructions such as *X hates Mary*, 7 instances of hating a particular activity such as *X hates reading*, 2 instances of reflexive usage but not with a reflexive pronoun but reflexive in the sense that the activity the agent hates to do was done on oneself as in *I hate combing myself*, and 6 instances of reciprocal usage out of which 1 morphological and the other 5 with a reciprocal pronoun. Hence, here again one would predict that the verb *dylyl* when expressing that someone hates themselves should be encoded syntactically with the anaphoric operator *maga* and not morphologically. Nevertheless, here again this was not the case in the database. There was only one occurrence but this was with a morphological middle marker.

As this distinction between introverted and extroverted verbs is not at all the main purpose of the present research I did not go into further details in checking a large number of such occurrences. Nevertheless, it is an interesting point for

future research to check if the functionalist frequency based approach adopted by Haspelmath allows to explain a significant number of universals of reflexive marking and more important explain language specific matters. What can be definitely said is that this kind of approach avoids bold speculative claims about speaker's mental grammars and makes many claims and predictions easily testable and falsifiable unlike a lot of claims and proposals which are notoriously hard to falsify.

8.6 The interpretation of the distribution of middle forms: form or function?

As already mentioned, Haiman's (1983) explanation of the distribution of middle forms makes reference to a formal property, namely "fullness" vs. "reducedness" of the relevant form: "economic motivation establishes a correspondence between a linguistic dimension (transparency/opacity, full/reduced form) and a conceptual dimension (unfamiliar/familiar, unpredictable/predictable)...Reduction of form is an ECONOMICALLY

motivated index of familiarity” (802). In other words, if a particular situation is more familiar then it will be marked with the reduced form/light form or not marked at all; whereas, if a particular situation is unexpected it will be marked with the longer form/heavier form. In the case of middle forms this would mean that the active form of grooming and body care verbs needs to be marked because it is less usual for someone to wash another person for example; whereas, the middle form should be unmarked as these types of activities are more naturally done on oneself.

Another view of the distribution of middle forms advocated by Shibatani (2012) focuses on two main factors 1) the correlation between form and semantic transparency 2) the correlation between form and its use in context.

1) The correlation between form and semantic transparency

Transparent semantic representation means a high degree of semantic compositionality. A periphrastic construction in which a middle marker (e.g., a reflexive form) is distinctly expressed is more semantically transparent than

morphological or lexical constructions, in which a middle marker is either part of a word or non-existent. Shibatani goes on and explains that semantic transparency of morphological constructions correlates with the productivity of the form. The higher the productivity the more transparent the form is semantically. High productivity means a high degree of recurrence of the element in question.

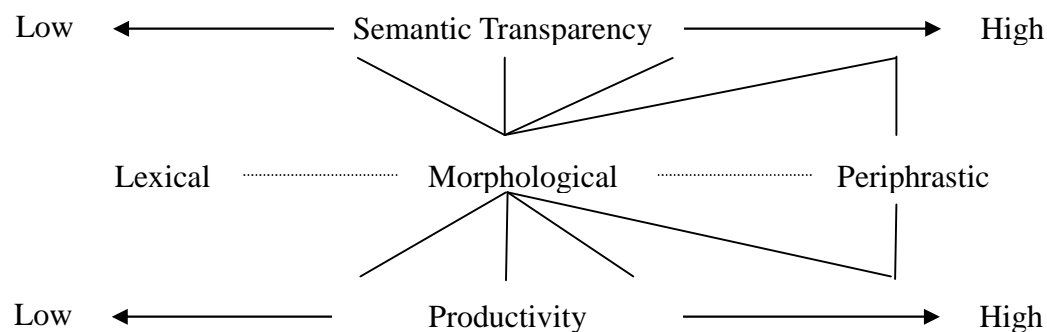


Figure 6 Correlation between form and semantic transparency

In other words, a form with a higher degree of productivity is associated with a meaning representation allowing compositional semantics in arriving at the meaning of form. Lexical and less productive forms, on the other hand, require memorization of the form-meaning association. This makes perfect sense since

non-productive forms are limited in number, whereas productive forms are by definition unbounded in quantity making memorization of the form-meaning association impossible.

2) The correlation between form and its use in context (familiar vs. unfamiliar)

It has been mentioned already that productive forms are associated with unfamiliar or unusual situations. It is the property of semantic transparency that mediates this correlation. Zipf's work indicates that familiar concepts, which have a high frequency of mention, allow semantically opaque expressions often resulting from shortening of the form.

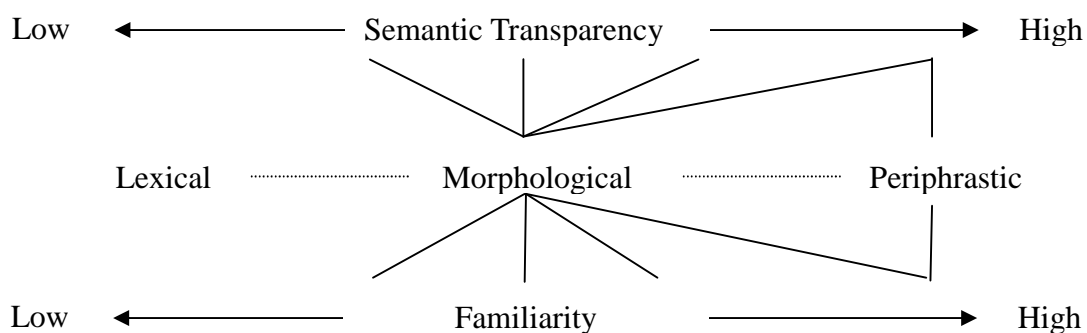


Figure 7 Correlation between form and its use in context

Hence, both Haiman's and Shibatani's approaches predict the following markedness patterns:

- 1) For extroverted verbs such as hit, kill, there are two markedness patterns:
 - a) an unmarked active form and a marked middle form, b) an (un)marked active form and an (un)marked middle form.
- 2) For introverted verbs such as wash, shave, there are two markedness patterns: a) a marked active form and an unmarked middle form, b) (un)marked active form and an (un)marked middle form.

In other words, Haiman (1983) and Shibatani (2012) would predict that expected or familiar middle situations involving introverted actions would be less marked and that less expected and less frequently encountered active situations would be more marked. This prediction is typically contradicted in NMH as already seen grooming and body care verbs (introverted verbs) are expressed with a marked middle forms; whereas, the active forms of these verbs are unmarked.

An explanation for this discrepancy between what is predicted and what really happens in a language such as NMH and many others such as Romanian and Hebrew for example, can be provided if the diachronic perspective of middle constructions is taken into consideration. In other words, the gradual spread of middle marking from the domain of extroverted verbs to that of inalienable action verbs has to be taken into account.

As already discussed in chapters 6, 7 as well as in the present chapter various middle constructions are distributed over continuous semantic spaces. The most productive forms being aligned with the direct reflexive situations, where the actions that are normally directed to others are confined to the agent, contrary to the general expectation such as ‘bite’, ‘kill’, ‘hit’ etc. The least productive ones which are lexical middles associated with no middle marking or with middle marking without an active counterpart, concentrate at the region specified for inalienable actions, in which the development of an action or process is typically confined to the protagonist participant. As the distribution of the three types of

middle construction in NMH shows, the different middle forms converge showing an overlapping distribution in some regions of the semantic space. Nevertheless, there are differences in the distribution of those middle forms. Regarding morphological middle forms, the *ud/yd* middle construction is the most productive one as it occurs most frequently with self-directed actions i.e. direct reflexive situations – extroverted verbs, grooming verbs and body care verbs. Whereas, *kɛd/kɛz* never occurs in those type of middle situations. Moreover, the least productive forms associated with lexical middles, which I have shown are unmarked or marked but with no active counterpart, if middle marked then the usage of the *kɛd/kɛz* middle marker is more frequent than the *ud/yd* middle marker. Based solely on the present synchronic analysis of NMH middle voice, it hard to hypothesis which form the *ud/yd* or the *kɛd/kɛz* is older, but if one takes the theory of the spreading from the direct reflexive region towards the inalienable region to be correct than one might propose that the *ud/yd* form is older as it expresses direct reflexives and not so *kɛd/kɛz*. One

more type of evidence that might lead to the conclusion that *ud/yd* is the older form is the fact that it is *ud/yd* that whose distribution is at the end of the spectrum as it is the only form expressing impersonal middle situations.

The usage of periphrastic middles in NMH is mainly used in direct reflexive middle situation types. Nevertheless, it has spread also to other constructions. Thus, the periphrastic constructions indicate the following pattern of spread⁸⁶:

Direct reflexive actions > Change of body posture actions > Spontaneous processes.

To sum up, middle marking gradually spreads from the direct reflexive region to the inalienable action region. In other words, the productive middle formation mechanism expands its domain of application as time goes by.

⁸⁶ No grooming verbs with periphrastic middles.

8.7 Conclusion

The main purpose of the present chapter was to characterize the middle situation types in NMH such as the reflexive middle, movement and grooming and body care middles, placing an emphasis on the semantic aspects of the related multiple uses of a single form, attempting to finally identify the semantic domain covered by the middle voice in NMH. It analyzed morphological, syntactic and lexical reflexive middle constructions in NMH, discussing their form, function and difference in usage. It also discussed the interpretation of the distribution of the middle voice in NMH based on different correlations between form and function of these constructions.

I have shown that *ud/yd* middle marked verbs fall into specific semantic classes such as, grooming and body care, self directed actions such as impact by force verbs, motion verbs, change of mental state verbs, spontaneous events such partial or global disruption of object's material integrity and pshycho-chemical

change, property of activities such as *finish*, *be cancelled*, *postponed*, and perception middles. All these different type of verbs are expressed in a variety of constructions such as reflexive middle constructions, spontaneous constructions, passive-like constructions, etc. I have discussed the reflexive-spontaneous polysemy and reflexive-impersonal polysemy. In comparison, the majority of the verbs that occur with *kɛd/kɛz* reflexive middle marker are change of mental state verbs and motion verbs. Moreover, the fact that *ud/yd* occurred in a large variety of predicates and *kɛd/kɛz* not as much plus the fact that *ud/yd* middle marked verbs occurred 79 times in my database whereas, *kɛd/kɛz* middle verbs only 18 times, signaling that *ud/yd* middles are much more productive than *kɛd/kɛz*. Finally, lexical middles were more often marked with *kɛd/kɛz* middle marker than with *ud/yd* middle marker, out of 18 *kɛd/kɛz* middle verbs 8 were lexical middles; whereas out of 79 *ud/yd* middle verbs there were 7 lexical middles. It has been shown that reflexive lexical middles in NMH fall into two main groups change of mental state and motion verbs, there was just one grooming verb.

Regarding the syntactic middle constructions their case marking was an important cue in deciding the functions of each anaphoric operator. I.e. the fact that the reflexive middle anaphoric operator can occur in so many different case markings signaled that one needs to check the predicates that can occur in each construction, the subject in those constructions, as well as the semantic features of the constructions themselves and last but not least to briefly discuss the function/meaning of each case marking on its own right. Hence, the ablative anaphoric operator functions as an ablative causer. Namely, although the ablative anaphoric operator is syntactically optional it does name a participant that is internal and necessary to the event. It functions as an ablative causer, expressing the fact that the subject of the sentence itself was the causer of the event and no other external entity.

Sublative anaphoric operators have been shown to function as intensifiers with the meaning that the action has been done with no help, by oneself. Dative anaphoric operator have been shown to be in most cases a clear case of emphatic

pronoun especially emphasizing the fact that the speaker is surprised and did not expect the particular act to be done by the subject towards himself. In all these cases it has been shown that NMH uses the middle marked verb in combination with the dative *maganək*. Finally, the accusative anaphoric operator *magat* has been shown to be a clear cut case of coreference between two semantic roles, a human agent and its patient. It occurred in most of the cases with self-directed impact by force verbs.

Finally, the syntactic reflexive middles and the morphological reflexive middles in cases in which the same verb could occur with one or the other were compared. After a thorough analysis it can be concluded that the syntactic middle construction had only one reading which was a clear cut correspondence between the reflexive anaphoric operator and the agent of the sentence; whereas, the morphological middles had two readings available one was a spontaneous event and the other a reflexive event.

Lastly, the interpretation of the distribution of middle forms in NMH was under discussion taking into account Haiman (1983) and Shibatani (2012). The principle that less familiar or unusual situations require semantically/functionally more explicit coding was analyzed. Based on the theory of the spreading of the various middle constructions over continuous semantic spaces the following three hypothesis have been made: 1) the *ud/yd* form is older than the *kɛd/kɛz* as the former expresses direct reflexives and not so the latter and also because the former is at the end of the spectrum expressing impersonal middle situations and not the latter, 2) if a form will be fossilized it is the *kɛd/kɛz* as it is less productive expressing more frequently lexical middle than the *ud/yd* form, 3) if NMH will ever develop a passive construction out of the middle category *ud/yd* middle form will be the one used for such a construction.

Chapter 9: Concluding Remarks

The present work is a modest attempt to describe an endangered and yet undocumented language, Northern Moldavian Hungarian (NMH), especially looking at the Middle Voice phenomenon. As very little research has been done on this language the present work is solely based on data collected through extensive fieldwork and working with 12 consultants. The historical, demographic, language policy and assimilation, and geographical arrangements discussions in this paper are based on previous research such as Tánczos Vilmos, Benda Kalman, Vincze Gabor and many others. Nevertheless, most of the information is based on my own observations while in the field; discussions held with the local authorities, conversations with my consultants and other villagers, participating in religious activities organized by the church in the village of Săbăoani, and observing the day to day life of the villagers while living in the village with them.

Firstly, I will briefly summarize the main findings of my analysis. I will also point the need for future research in particular areas. I will then end with what I consider the broadest and most significant implications and contributions of this study.

9.1 Summary of the findings

Through the previous chapters an analysis of a wide variety of middle constructions has been provided. An attempt to explain the overall organization of the middle system, the ways in which a construction type may motivate the existence of another and the way in which different middle values are related has been made. In chapter 6 I have pointed out that the middle voice involves an intermediate level of activity in which actions which are not totally agent-like and not totally patient-like tend to be expressed. It has been shown that all the constructions outside the middle share one of the following two properties: 1) the two participants involved in the event are well differentiated or 2) there is only one participant undergoing a change. In contrast with these two extremes, in the

middle domain all the constructions involve a participant configuration more complex than the one-participant construal and less elaborate than the two-participant counterpart. It has been shown that the various situation types discussed in the preceding chapters can be placed relative to one another on a “semantic map” based on the shared semantic properties of these situation types.

The three most important semantic properties related to the semantic domain of middle voice in NMH are 1) the confinement of the development of the action within the agent’s sphere to the extent that the action’s effect accrues back on the agent itself, 2) the degree of volitionality of the Initiator/Agent, and 3) the degree of affectedness of the Initiator/Agent. The semantic property of degree of Affectedness of the Initiator connects reflexive middles to impersonal middles and impersonal middles to spontaneous middles and reflexives to internal processes middles (cognitive, emotive middle situations). Moreover, the semantic property of the degree of volitionality of the Initiator relates reflexive middle situations with movement middles and reflexives with cognitive middles. What

connects impersonals with spontaneous middles is the semantic property of any participant that might have caused the event to happen. Finally, the reciprocal/reflexive connection has to do with the correlation between the two participants in the event. In both situation types the action is carried out toward a patient which is coreferential with the agent. Last but not least, what connects all these middle situation types to each other is the main and most important semantic property the fact that the development of the action is confined within the subject's sphere.

Hence, it has been shown that the distribution of various middle constructions starts with the most productive forms being aligned with the direct reflexive situations, where the actions that are normally directed to others are confined to the agent, contrary to the general expectation and ends with the inalienable actions in which the development of an action or process is typically confined to the protagonist participant. These are the least productive ones—lexical middles associated with no middle marking.

Furthermore, the puzzle as to why body-care actions and other body actions as well as actions that express inherent middle meanings receive morphological marking even when the described situations are not conceptually marked was discussed. The answer to this discrepancy lies in the tendency for a middle mechanism to spread from the direct reflexive region to other regions of the middle domain. Last but not least some diachronic predictions have been made such as the fact that the *ud/yd* is the older form because it is at the end of the spectrum and *kɛd/kɛz* is the newer form. Moreover, NMH only has two voice categories active and middle. The passive in this language is not yet a developed category but it has been speculated based on synchronic data that if such a construction will develop in the future it will employ the *ud/yd* middle construction to express a passive meaning.

Last but not least, the present analysis of middle voice did not draw a line between direct reflexives and the other middle situation types such as reflexive middles, change in mental state, movement situations, and impersonal middle

situation types. If one follows Shibatani's approach to voice (2006), and understands voice as the pattern of the form-function correlation along the parameters pertaining to the evolutionary properties of an action then it becomes easy to realize that all the above constructions are considered as part of the middle domain. Different voice categories correspond to different conceptualizations of how an action evolves. If this is the case then it seems only logical to consider reflexives as a middle action type since the action type is also confined in the subject's personal sphere. Hence, I do not follow the distinctions made by Faltz, Kemmer and many others between reflexives and middles. The main reason why Kemmer (1993) distinguishes reflexive situations from middle situations seems to be partially based on the typical forms used to express them. Reflexive situations tend to be expressed periphrastically as in 'hit oneself', and Kemmer's typical middle situations are expressed morphologically as in 'shave', and single participant situations tend to be expressed without any middle markers, hence lexically. Thus, there are marked voice categories pertaining to

the origin of the action (spontaneous, passive, causative), the nature of the development of an action (middle, antipassive), and the termination of an action (applicative, external possession).

The following is a brief summary of the main findings of the present analysis.

There are three middle markers in NMH that can attach to adjectives, nouns and verbs: a) *-yl/-ul*, b) *-yd/-ud/-od/-ed*, and c) *-kəz/-koz/-kɛz/-køz* or *-kəd/-kəd*.

Although tendencies as to which middle suffixes attaches to which part of speech could be found such as the suffix -yl/ul most frequently attaches to adjectives and the -ud/-yd which mostly occurs with verbs, verbs marked with the yl/ul middle marker and adjectives marked with the ud/yd middle markers were not unusual instances. After a thorough analysis of my data, I concluded that one cannot make a generalization regarding the functions of the middle suffixes according to the semantics of the parts of speech attached to them because lots of cases in which the same verb can take more than one suffix were available in the

database. Moreover, such a generalization can also not be achieved by analyzing the semantic classes of the verbs taking a particular middle marker. For example, emotion verbs such as *crying*, *morning* as well as body action verbs such as *washing*, *combing* take the same suffix *-ud/yd* to form a middle construction. Moreover, movement verbs that took the *ud/yd* middle suffix and others that took the *kɛd/kɛz* middle suffix, *mutal-udik* ‘move oneself’ and *huzɔ-kɔdik* ‘crawl’ respectively existed in the database. Hence, I concluded that the best way to reach such a generalization is to look at the construction as a whole, i.e. at the semantic situations.

The following table is the classification of the functions of the NMH middle suffixes, i.e. the semantic situations expressed by using the middle morphology.

middle suffix function	yl/ul	ud	køz	kəd
Reflexive		√	√	√
Reciprocal		√	√	√
Spontaneous	√most frequent	√few examples		√ few examples
Experiencer		√		
Impersonal		√		
internal processes (think, learn, wait)			√	√
Movement/motion middle		√		√

Table 91 The classification of the functions of the NMH middle suffixes

It has also been shown that middle voice usually expresses a) motion (translational, non-translational and change in body posture), b) change of mental state (cognition, emotive and emotion situations), c) spontaneous events, d) self directed actions such as direct and indirect body care, e) reciprocal situations, and f) impersonal situations or passive-like situations.

Cases in which the same verb has an active and a middle form which seem to have the same meaning were under discussion. In the case of the verb *gondol* ‘think’, at first glance it seems that both the active form *gondol* and the middle form *gondolkoz*- *have the same meaning as an internal process of thinking* but if one carefully looks at all the examples in the database which were 32 sentences, a difference in their usage and meanings can be detected. When checking carefully the 32 occurrences of the verb *gondol* ‘think’ and the context they occur in, one can see that the middle form *gondolkoz* always had a meaning of *thinking about something because one is interested in it and wants to know more about it or because one is worried or suspicious about it*. A second less frequent meaning *was thinking until one realizes something*. Whereas, in the case of the active form *gondol* ‘think’, the meaning was more of about *having an opinion about a particular thing, being considering someone or just the neutral sense of thinking* without any worries about something or someone. Thus, here again one can see that in the case of the middle voice the involvement of the Agent in the

action is higher showing that the development of the action is within the agent's sphere.

MORPHOLOGICAL REFLEXIVE MIDDLES

Morphological reflexive constructions are marked with *kɛd/kɛz* and *ud/yd* middle markers.

I have shown that *ud/yd* reflexive middle marked verbs fall into the following semantic classes: a) grooming and body care verbs such as *wash*, *make up*, *comb-hair*, etc b) self directed actions such as impact by force verbs such as *hit oneself*, *scratch oneself*, *bite oneself*, etc c) motion verbs (translational such as *climb*, *move*, *take a walk*, non-translational such as bend, *to shake the booty from side to side while walking*, and change in body posture such as *sit down*).

All these different type of verbs are expressed in a variety of constructions such as reflexive middle constructions, spontaneous constructions, passive-like constructions, etc. Moreover, there are cases in which there is a reflexive-spontaneous polysemy as in 'The man got hanged, or the man hanged himself',

or reflexive-passive polysemy as with the verb *lat* ‘see’ which occurred in passive-like constructions such as ‘From here *Babadochie* is visible’ and in reflexive constructions such as ‘I like myself when I look at myself into the mirror’.

The majority of the verbs that occur with *kɛd/kɛz* reflexive middle marker are change of mental state verbs and motion verbs. a) grooming and body care verbs such as *shave and dress (2 instances)* b) motion verbs (translational such as *crawl*, non-translational such as *bow*, and change in body posture such as *lie down, lower oneself, raise, roll up(6 instances)*, c) change of mental state verbs cognitive such *learn/figure out, think, wonder, fool/deceive* emotive and emotion verbs such as *pray*, , emotive speech actions such as *beg (7 instances)* and e) spontaneous events such partial or global disruption of object’s material integrity such as *tear and drip(2 instances)* f) perception middles such *hear (1instance)*.

MORPHOLOGICAL RECIPROCAL MIDDLES

Although both middle markers *kɛd/kɛz* and *ud/yd* can be used to express reciprocal situations there are some differences such as a) more verbs of impact by force such as different words for ‘pushing’, ‘hitting’, occurred with the *ud/yd* middle marker than with the *kɛd/kɛz* middle marker, b) speech act verbs/emotion verbs such ‘mocking’, ‘bragging’ occur more frequently with the *kɛd/kɛz* middle marker c) reflexive-reciprocal polysemy only occurred with verbs marked with the *ud/yd* middle marker never the *kɛd/kɛz* marker, e) whenever the same verb can occur with both middle markers. In these cases it is always the middle marker *kɛd/kɛz* that will take the reciprocal meaning; whereas the middle marker *ud/yd* will express the middle.

A comparison of the morphological middle constructions, reciprocal and reflexive situations - Results

1. When encoding reciprocal meanings, there are cases in which the same verb takes more than one middle marker those cases are simple if one can see that depending on the middle marker the verb participates in a different middle construction so for example when the verb *ver* ‘hit’ takes the middle marker – *yd/ud* it expresses a reflexive event meaning to hit oneself or an impersonal meaning but if the same verb takes the middle marker – *kεz* it expresses a reciprocal event meaning they hit each other.

2. *When encoding reflexive middle meaning, ud/yd middle is much more productive than kεd/kεz.* It occurred with 79 verbs in the database plus with a large amount of adjectives that were not taken into account in the present work. Secondly, the type of the verbs in the *ud/yd* middle constructions is larger than in the case of *kεd/kεz*. the *kεd/kεz* middle constructions never occurred in self directed actions such as impact by force verbs such as *hit oneself, scratch*

oneself, bite oneself nor in *passive-like constructions*. One can also say that the percentage of Lexical middles is higher with *kɛd/kɛz* middle marker than with *ud/ɣd* middle marker. Out of 18 *kɛd/kɛz* middle verbs 8 were lexical middles; whereas out of 79 *ud/ɣd* middle verbs there were 7 lexical middles.

SYNTACTIC RECIPROCALs in NMH

After a thorough analysis of all the occurrences of the two syntactic reciprocal middle constructions with *zedzik ə masik* and *i mas*, 98 in number, the following generalization of the difference in the meaning and usage of the two constructions can be made.

1. Both the *zedzik ə masik* and *the i mas* anaphoric expressed reciprocal situations in which one could not understand if there are two entities involved or multiple entities. The subject was plural, as in ‘the girls combed themselves’, or ‘they bend one in front of the other’. In these cases 2 or more than 2 entities can be involved in the action. However, only *zedzik ə masik* was used in reciprocal situations which clearly lexically expressed two entities.

2. Only *i mas* constructions that clearly expressed reciprocal actions that cannot be done concomitantly.

3. *edzik ə masik* never occurred in possessive reciprocal constructions whereas, the *i mas* anaphoric operator occurs.

4. Although the most common way to form a syntactic reciprocal middle is using the active form of the verb plus the reciprocal anaphoric operator, there are instances in which the verb occurring with the anaphoric operator is a morphological middle verb. Searching the data base resulted in finding that *i mas* co-occurs more frequently with verbs marked morphologically for reciprocity (10 occurrences out of 56) than *edzik ə masik* (4 occurrences out of 42).

There seem to be no restrictions on occurrence of *zedzik ə masik* and *i mas* in reciprocal construction of various diathesis types. Both anaphoric operators can be used in reciprocal constructions of all the basic types. They may be both *subject-oriented* and *object oriented*. *Subject-oriented reciprocals* can be further

subdivided into two types depending on whether the second cross-coreferential participant is a direct or an indirect object a) direct (canonical) reciprocal constructions such *they hate each other* with *each other* marked Accusative, and b) indirect types as in *the neighbors talked to each other* with *each other* marked Dative or any other case marking except Accusative. *Object-oriented reciprocity* occurs in NMH with transitive verbs in which the object argument is an inanimate relation with an animate being.

The *i mas* reciprocal anaphor and *zedzik ə masik* occur in two place relations constructions taking the place of a direct object when they are marked accusative and of an oblique object if it is marked taking the place of a direct object Dative, Locative, Instrumental, Sublative, Allative, or Ablative and **in three place relations constructions (indirect reciprocals)**. *i mas* also occurs in ‘possessive’ reciprocal constructions to describe situations in which in one case there are two pairs of arguments cross-coreferential to each other a subject and an object in which the object covers the role of a patient, recipient or beneficiary and in the

second case two possessed entities such as body parts or something in contact with or on its possessor. These are sentences such as ‘they pulled at each other’s hair’; *zedzik ə masik* never occurred in possessive reciprocals.

Finally both *zedzik ə masik* and *i mas* can in very rare cases occur in nominative case form. Hence in very few cases they can be employed as a surface subject or predicate, and serve as an equivalent of the English each other in a sentence such as *John and Bill were deciding what each other should do*. In the nominative cases the meaning of *i mas* can be translated as *another, someone else and each other* as in the possessive reciprocal construction, and *zedzik ə masik* can be translated as *each other* as well, as in *holot: el i zedzik ə masik meke* ‘They passed each other’.

Regarding the semantics of the predicates which can occur with the two reciprocal anaphoric operators in NMH, no clear differences between the two reciprocal operators can be made. Both constructions can occur with grooming verbs, force verbs such as hitting, pushing etc. The following two predictions

regarding the semantic of the predicates occurring in the two syntactic reciprocal middle constructions was made:

1. One prediction that can be clearly made is that grooming verbs can solely occur in syntactic reciprocal constructions and never in morphological reciprocal constructions. Hence, introverted verbs which refer to actions which one generally performs upon one's self when occurring with the morphological middle marker can only have a reflexive meaning and can only get a reciprocal reading with the reciprocal analytic operators; whereas, extroverted verbs occurred in morphological middle reciprocal constructions and in syntactic reciprocal constructions. In these cases two main tendencies could be observed.

2. Another type of verbs were verbs such as hitting, kissing, impact verbs in which there was a slight difference in the ability of the reciprocal construction to convey a multiplex vs. a uniplex event. The morphological reciprocal construction could express only a uniplex event; whereas, the syntactic reciprocal construction could express both a uniplex and a multiplex event.

Finally, what can be claimed with certainty is that the heavy form which is productive can occur with almost any transitive verb root.

SYNTACTIC REFLEXIVE MIDDLE CONSTRUCTIONS

In order to express syntactic reflexivity the anaphoric operator *maga/mɔga/mɔgɔ* which means ‘own/alone/by oneself’ is used. The anaphoric operator declines for person and for number. It can take different case markers. Although there are 14 grammatical cases in NMH, the reflexive anaphoric operator occurred in the database only in the Accusative (20 instances), Dative (14 instances), Sublative (36 instances), Ablative (15 instances), and Inessive/Illative (1 case). Moreover, in most cases the syntactic reflexive construction is formed by using the active form of the verb and the reflexive operator. Nevertheless, out of the 14 datively marked syntactic reflexive middle constructions 10 were formed not with the active form of the verb but with the middle form of the verb and out of the 14 Ablative instances 4 were formed with the verb in its middle form.

I consider reflexives and intensifiers in tandem because in NMH as in many other languages reflexive anaphoric operators and intensifiers are identical in form.

The fact that the reflexive middle anaphoric operator can occur in so many different forms (case markings) signals that one needs to check the predicates that can occur in each construction, the subject in those constructions, as well as the semantic features of the constructions themselves.

I have shown that although the ablative anaphoric operator is syntactically optional it does name a participant that is internal and necessary to the event. It functions as an ablative causer, expressing the fact that the subject of the sentence itself was the causer of the event and no other external entity. Regarding sublativ anaphoric operators it has been shown that in most cases they do function as intensifiers with the meaning that the action has been done with no help, by oneself. Moreover, the dative anaphoric operator was shown to be in most cases a clear case of emphatic pronoun especially emphasizing the

fact that the speaker is surprised and did not expect the particular act to be done by the subject towards himself. In all these cases it has been shown that NMH uses the middle marked verb in combination with the dative *maganək*. In the very few cases in which the dative *maganək* occurred with an active form of the verb its function was more of a recipient of the transmission especially an experiencer. Finally, the accusative anaphoric operator *magat* was under discussion showing that this is a clear cut case of coreference between two semantic roles, a human agent and its patient. It occurred in most of the cases with self-directed impact by force verbs.

SYNTACTIC vs. MORPHOLOGICAL REFLEXIVE MIDDLES

The light form is relatively restricted it cannot occur with every transitive root to indicate reflexive semantics. Not so the heavy form which is productive and can occur with almost any transitive verb root except grooming and body care verbs which could only occur in the light form (morphological middles) and never in periphrastic constructions. However, in NMH at least some verb roots can occur with both the light and the heavy form. Significantly there is a difference in meaning between the verbal event expressed with the heavy form and the one expressed with the light form as explained below.

The difference in the reading between syntactic middle constructions and morphological middle constructions that occur with the same verb can be characterized as follows: the syntactic middle construction had only one reading which was a clear cut correspondence between the reflexive anaphoric operator and the agent of the sentence, i.e. the agent of the sentence did a particular action to himself; whereas, the morphological middle construction had two readings

available one was a spontaneous event and the other a reflexive event as illustrated in the cases of *jul* ‘skin’ and *ver* ‘hit’, and *mər* ‘bite’. Hence, while the same objectively viewed self-contained event can often be encoded by either the morphological or syntactic strategies, the syntactic strategy is typically more strongly agent-oriented; whereas, the morphological strategy can be both agent and patient oriented.

Furthermore in some instances no differences between the usages of the two different types of middle constructions could be observed. This might be due to lack of data regarding such instances or just that in some cases the consultants used these constructions indistinguishably, as in the case of *pedepsil* ‘punish’ and *byz* ‘smell’.

SYNTACTIC vs. MORPHOLOGICAL RECIPROCAL MIDDLES

Here, again it has been shown that the light form is relatively restricted it cannot occur with every transitive root to indicate reciprocal semantics; whereas the heavy form can occur with almost any transitive verb root.

When comparing verb roots which can occur with both the light and the heavy form to convey a mutual situation or in syntactic reciprocal construction using the active form of the verb plus the anaphoric reciprocal operators, *zedzik* *ə masik* or *i mas*. The following are the results:

1. GROUP ONE Includes cases in which the middle marked verb does not get a reciprocal meaning but a reflexive meaning; whereas the syntactic middle construction has a reciprocal meaning as in *mutfit-ud-nək* only meant that they are showing themselves on TV for example and never each other, whereas, the syntactic form only meant to show to each other. *dzifir-ked-nək* only meant to praise themselves, to brag ; whereas, the syntactic form only meant to praise each other. All the grooming and bodily care verbs are part of this group. They

can only express reciprocity with anaphoric reciprocal operators; never with morphological middle markers. With morphological middle markers the meaning is always reflexive; they washed themselves.

2. Another type of verbs were verbs such as hitting, kissing, impact verbs in which there was a slight difference in the ability of the reciprocal construction to convey a multiplex vs. a uniplex event. The morphological reciprocal construction could express only a uniplex event; whereas, the syntactic reciprocal construction could express both a uniplex and a multiplex event.

3. Finally there were a large number of instances in which no main differences between the morphological and the syntactic reciprocal constructions could be observed.

REFLEXIVE AND RECIPROCAL LEXICAL MIDDLES

NMH lexical reciprocal predicates consist of a semantically restricted set of predicate whose meanings fall in the class of **social relations** such as the different verbs of marry (depending if it is a male or a female who gets married), fight, agree, disagree, to make friends, meet, have sexual intercourse, and kiss and so on. Moreover, it has been shown that there are two main types of lexical reciprocals in NMH, ones that are not marked with the *kəd/kez* and *ud/yd* middle marker but still express a mutual configuration as *hasul*, etc and others that do occur with these grammatical markers. In this case one can divide them into instances in which no non-marked middle verb exists such as in *vesekədik*, *kontralkədik*, the so called deponents or semi deponents and other cases in which there is a non-marked middle verb but whose meaning is slightly different than the middle marked verb such in *verekədik*, and cases in which the meaning diverges from the non-marked verb as is *ɔdudik* and *veydʒetik*. Furthermore, I have shown that lexical middles can be expressed in simple reciprocal structures

or in discontinuous reciprocal constructions usually with the second participant marked with the instrumental case or with the second participant being the instrumental personal pronoun. In addition, cases of reciprocal verbs which can be used with a singular Subject in patterns where the other participant is not mentioned were exemplified as well. Finally, none of the lexical reciprocals constructions has expressed multiple mutual events. In other words, all lexical deponents express uniplex mutual events. Multiplex mutual events can only be expressed by grammatical reciprocals especially using the anaphoric reciprocal operators.

NMH lexical reflexive predicates consist of a semantically restricted set of predicates whose meanings fall in the classes of motion verbs and change in mental state. The findings of the present work fit Kemmer's claim that one cannot find in the grammars of the world meanings deponents with meanings such as 'hit oneself', 'see oneself', and 'love oneself'. Finally, out of 18 *ked/kez*

middle verbs 8 were lexical middles; whereas out of 79 *ud/yd* middle verbs there were 7 lexical middles.

9.2 Points for further research

Now let me just point out three out of many future research topics that are interesting to pursue. In order for the picture of the voice phenomena of NMH to be complete future research needs to study passive and causative voice categories of NMH. Although the causative has been problematic with respect to its status as a voice category, Shibatani 2006 shows that it can be naturally integrated into a coherent conceptual framework of voice as it pertains to the origin of an action; that is whether the action originates with the agent of the main action or with another agent heading the action chain. Causative constructions in NMH are of great interest because as shown in chapter 4 there is one fossilized causative suffix - *tet* which is not productive and occurs with very few verbs. It is attached to the verb stem and is followed by any personal marking suffixes as any other verb would be. The consultants were not aware of

the fact that these forms are morphological causative constructions. Nevertheless, one has to look at lexical and syntactic ways to express causation and see how they fit into the whole conceptual framework of voice phenomena. As for the passive voice, relations between the middle and the passive have been noticed in literature and it is much easier to conceive it as a voice category. According to Shibatani 2006 the relevant characteristic here is that the action originates with an agent extremely low in discourse relevance or at least lower relative to the patient. Hence, here again one needs to examine the different ways passive constructions are expressed in NMH such as using the past tense of the auxiliary *vɔʎ* ‘be’, the morphological middle markers, and the adverbial participle when preceded by the copula ‘be’.

Another intriguing topic to pursue is Haspelmath’s frequency based explanation of some universals of reflexive marking. In chapter 8 I have just presented a glimpse of the way this approach can be implemented. Nevertheless, a much more detailed study using this methodology would be interesting. One

could check which semantic phenomena in NMH middle voice system are a matter of speech frequency /world frequency and which are not. I do not intend to claim that all language phenomena can be explained in frequentist terms but I do believe it to be an interesting method to use and pursue as some existing explanations to middles and their conceptualization are ingenious and insightful they are hard to falsify and there is no way of knowing whether the speakers and not just the linguists make these generalizations. However, in order for the frequentist explanatory framework to be even feasible such a study needs to be done based on very large corpora to find enough cases of a particular linguistic phenomenon.

Finally, using this work as a jumping point for analyzing how the middle system of a Finno-Ugric Language has changed during the years when in contact with a Romance Language is fascinating. In previous works I have compared NMH middle morphological constructions with Modern Hungarian and many differences have been observed some of which might have been caused by the

constant contact with Romanian. Some differences though diverged both from Hungarian and Romanian. Nevertheless, a valid analysis in this direction needs to compare NMH firstly to Medieval Hungarian; the Hungarian used 700 years ago when NMH speakers left their mother country and lost all contact to their mother tongue.

9.3 Some of the implications of the present work

I will end with what I consider the broadest and most significant implications of this study. I believe the present work can contribute to a variety of different Linguistic studies such as Language contact research, typological and cross-linguistic research as well as to cognitive linguistic approaches. The fact that this work is the first serious attempt to characterize Northern Moldavian Hungarian spoken in the villages of Săbăoani and Pildești and providing a description of this endangered language paying specific attention to the middle voice phenomena is already an important contribution.

Although this study does not deal at all with Language Contact issues it can serve as a base for future researchers of language contact as it describes a language which has been developing in isolation from its source for more than 700 years and was in constant contact with another language from a different language family for these amount of time. Hence, it can serve future studies that are interested in analyzing how the middle voice system of a Finno-Ugric language develops when in constant contact with a Romance language.

Moreover, as this study provides a fine grained analysis of the voice phenomena in NMH, looking at all the possibilities of encoding such an event, morphological, syntactic as well as lexical, it can contribute to future typological and cross-linguistic studies on this topic.

Finally, this study discusses in great detail the differences in conceptualization of specific constructions, predicates and the discourse in which they occur, as well the consultants' insightful remarks on particular phenomenon in their language. Hence, I believe it can provide an insight into the conceptual

structure of the mind. Though this research is yet in its infancy, the present investigation is a small contribution to cognitive studies which can take it one step further and try to reach an understanding of human cognition.

Another important impact that this work attempts to achieve is to the community itself. I intend to give the community, some of the recorded material⁸⁷ and prepare a coherent word list for them translated into English and Romanian. Moreover, in the close future based on the present study I intend to write a short language instruction book to give to the community. This language instruction book will also include a chapter with pictures and a description of their life style which I hope will interest the younger generation.

Secondly, and not of less importance is a specific contribution I believe this research has on the status of the women of these society, especially the elders.

⁸⁷ There is recorded material which will not be given to the community because it includes sensitive information that consultants provided, for example talking about each other, discussing personal family matters and gossip. However, songs, stories, elicitation sections and different cooking recipes that the consultants eagerly provided will be given to them.

As mentioned in chapter 2 and 3, the most reliable speakers are the women in this community. Due to the fact that they have not worked outside the community, in the city, they were not in constant contact with the other varieties of Hungarian spoken in Romania. These varieties are much closer related to the standard Hungarian spoken in Hungary. This is due to the fact that geographically speaking the speakers of other varieties live closer to the Hungarian border; whereas, the NMH community is geographically remote from the Hungarian border. The men in this community have been much more mobile due to their job occupation outside the villages. Hence, these women are holding the torch of this culture and language which is doomed to disappear in less than a century. Nevertheless, the women of this community are not aware of their important role in keeping their language and heritage alive. They are ridiculed and scared to talk this 'bird language', as they call it. I strongly believe that this research helped them gain some respect a community which has stopped respecting elderly women. At the present stage, some of these women have

nothing to offer to their fellow villagers. They never brought money into the household but now some are not in the position to keep the household or work the fields. Skills such as weaving are not considered important anymore. A lot of old women are left to the care of their families, which are just providing them with the minimum necessary. I have felt their work as consultants helped them gain respect both in the community and inside their own families. The fact that two linguists from abroad have come from far away on a daily bases to meet with them, record their stories, study the language they talk has elevated their self-esteem and has improved the treatment they received in their own households.

Appendix A: Maps of Romania and Northern Moldavian settlements

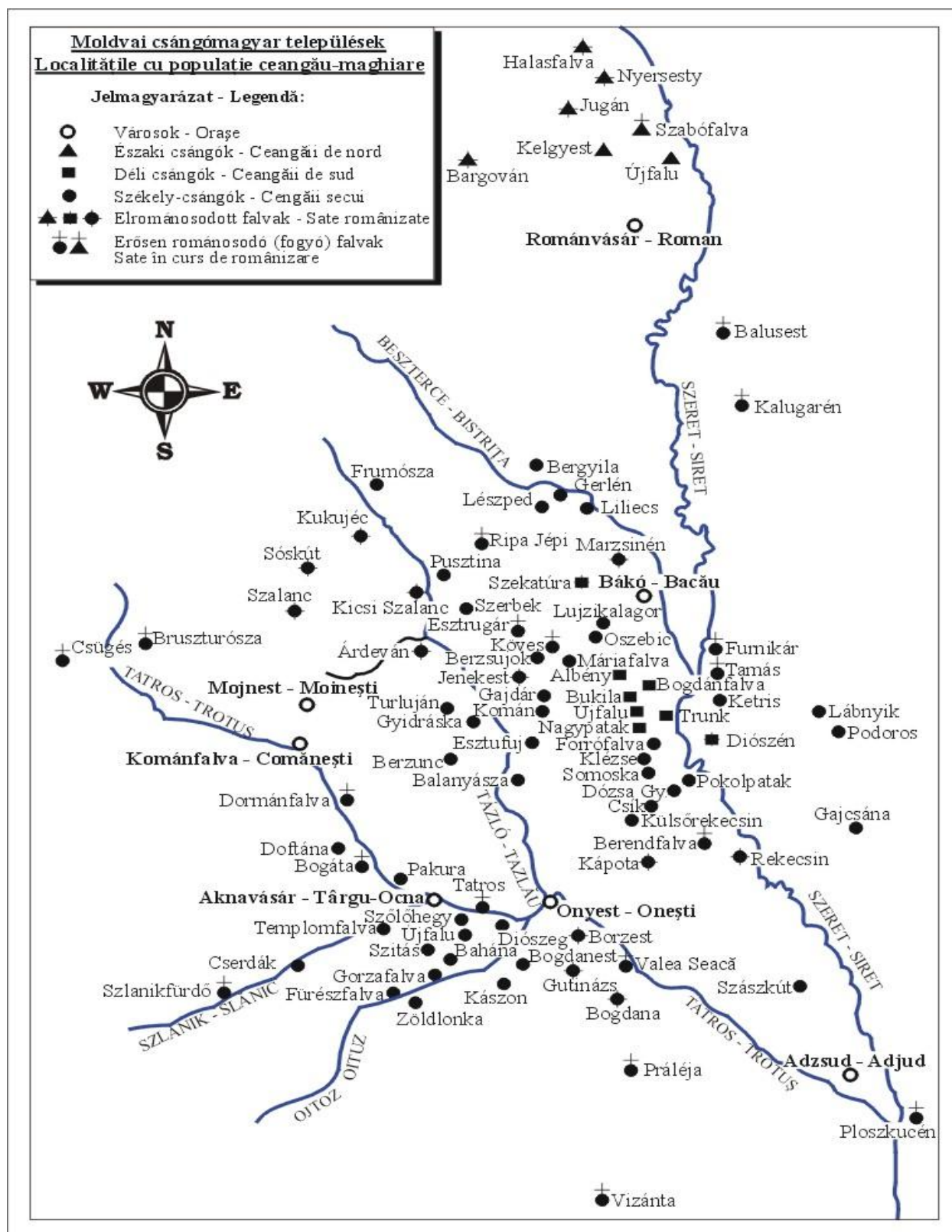
1. The following is the map of Romania with its counties. The Northern Moldavian Hungarian Speakers live in the county of Moldova. The Széklers live in the county of Transylvania.



2. This map illustrates in more detail the city of Roman closest to the villages of Sabaoani and Pildesti.



3. The following map exemplifies the settlements with Csango-Hungarian population



Appendix B: Examples of Elicitation Materials

1. The first example is of a made-up story in order to trigger Translative constructions. At first I will provide the story as it was told to the consultants in Romanian. Next, the English translation is given. Finally, the way in which one out of the eleven consultants retold the story in Northern Moldavian Hungarian is provided. It also includes a free English translation without glosses.
2. The second example is the way one of the consultants narrated the video-clips that I made in order to trigger a variety of middle voice constructions.

B1. Translative story

The Romanian version that the bilingual consultants received:

A fost odata ca niciodata un rege care avea sapte fete. Ca sa nu se obisnuiasca sa leneveasca, regele isi trimitea fetele sa scoata apa din fantana care era in gradina.

In fiecare zi era randul altei fete sa mearga la fantana si sa scoata apa.

In aceasta fanta traia o broscuta. Cand prima fata s-a dus sa scoata apa, ea a vazut broscuta langa fantana. S-a speriat si a zdrobit-o cu piciorul. Deodata broscuta s-a transformat intr-o albino si a intepat-o. Fata a fugit acasa tipand. A doua zi, cea dea doua fata s-a dus si ea la fantana si a vazut broscuta in galeata.

Ea tot s-a speriat si a inceput sa calce pe ea. In acel moment broscuta s-a transformat intru-un sarpe. Sarpele a inceput sa o muste si fata a fugit acasa injurand broscuta. A treia fata cand s-a dus si ea la fantana a vazut broasca atarnata de o funie. Ea inceput sa loveasca broasca. Si deodata broasca s-a transformat intr-o lipitoare si i-a supt sangele. Fata a fugit sangerand acasa. A patra zi, a patra fata s-a dus sa scoata apa, A vazut broasca sub o frunza. Sperziata

a luat-o si a aruncat-o. Broasca s-a transformat intr-o urzica si a piscat-o pe biata fata. Fata a luat-o la fuga inspre casa scarpinundu-se. A cincea fata s-a dus la fantana si broasca era lipita de peretele fantanii. Fata a scuturat broasca si broasca s-a transformat intr-o vaca. Vaca a dat cu copitele in fata care a fugit acasa schiopatand. A sasea fata cand s-a dus la fantana a vazut broasca care era pe bordura fantanii. Fata a inceput sa o sugrume. Broasca s-a transformat intr-un dragon si a inceput sa scuie foc din gura. Fata s-a ars putin. A saptea fata, mezină, cand s-a dus si ea la fantana sa scoata apa a vazut si ea broscuta. Broasca se afla intre copaci si fantana. Fetita a luat broasca a mangaiat-o si a pupat-o. Deodata broscuta s-a transformat intr-un print frumos. Printul i-a multumit fetei pentru bunătatea ei si a cerut-o de nevastă. Ei au trait fericiți o vesnicie.

English translation of the story

Once upon a time there was a king that had 7 girls. In order for the girls not to get used to laziness, the king sent his girls to take out water from the well from the garden. Each day it was another's girl turn to go to the will and pull out water. In this well there lived a froggie. When the first girl went to pull out water she saw the froggie next to the well. She got scared and crushed it with her leg. Suddenly, the frog transformed into a bee and stung the girl. Screaming the girl ran home. The second day, the second girl went as well to the well and saw the froggie in a bucket. She also got scared and started stepping on her. In that moment, the froggie transformed into a snake. The snake started biting her and the firl ran home while cursing. When the third girl went as well to the well she saw the frog hanging from a rope. She started hitting the frog and suddenly the frog became a leech and started sucking her blood. The girl ran home bleeding. The fourth day, the fourth girl went to pull out water. She saw the frog under a leave. Frightened, she took the frog and threw it away. The frog transformed into

a nettle and pricked the poor girl. The girl started running home while scratching herself. The fifth girl went to the well and the frog was stuck on the well's wall. The girl shook the frog and the frog changed into a cow. The cow hit the girl with the hoof. The girl ran home limping. The sixth girl went to the fountain and saw the frog which was lying on the edge of the well. The girl started strangling it. The frog transformed into a dragon and started spitting fire from its mouth. The girl got burned a bit. The seventh girl, the youngest one, when she went to the well to pull out water she also saw the froggie. The frog was between a tree and the well. The little girl took the frog and petted it and gave it a kiss. Suddenly, the frog changed into a handsome prince. The prince thanked her for her kindness and asked her to marry him. They lived happily ever after.

The following is the way one of the consultants retold the story.

ult etser sɛ mig etser i redʒul mɛʎiknek ult het ʎaŋə

once upon a time there was a king who had seven daughters

hoʃ nə maj leʒenek puturoasak, nɛ ki lusuʎonək ɛl, ɛl kyltɛ hoʃ huzɔnək vizɛt ɛ

kutbul

in order for them not to get lazy, the king was sending them to the pull water

from the well

ɛ kut ult ɛ kɛrbɛ

the well was in the garden

minden nɔp i ʎaŋ kɛlɛt mɛɲɛn mindɛn nɔp kuthoz

every day a girl had to go to the well

ɔb:ɔ ɔ kutbɔ elt i bikɔʃkɔ

in this well a frog lived

mikor ə noʝob ʎaŋ ɛl mɛnt hoʝ huz:ɔn vizet mɛg lat:ɔ bikɔʃkat

when the first girl went to pull water she saw the frog

bikɔʃkɔ ult ɛ kut mɛl:ɛ

the frog was next to the well

mɛg ijedɛt: ɛ ʎaŋ sɔ lɛ liptɛ labaal ə bikɔʃkat

the girl got frightened and she crushed the frog with her feet

ɛtsɛrbyl ɛ bikɔʃkɔ mɛg ʃanudot bindari sɛ mɛg surto

suddenly the frog turned into a bumble-bee and stung her

Λαηəʃkə ɛl futot hɔzɔ bygvɛ

the girl ran home shouting

ɛ kɛ:ɾydzik nɔp ə kɛ:ɾydzik Λaη ɛl mɛnt y is ɛ kuthoz

the second day the second girl too went to the well

mɛg latə bikɔʃkat ə kəldərusbɔ

she saw the frog in the bucket

funi siut sə funi tʃipodot: reajə

she started to shriek and started to step on it

ɔbɔ minuntbɔ bikɔʃkə mɛg ʃanudot kidzui

in that moment the frog turned into a snake

kidzu funi mōrtō λapəʃkat

the snake started to bite the girl

λapəʃkə ɛl futət hōzō sə sidudət ə bikəʃkarə

the girl ran home and was cursing the frog

ə hōrmədʒik λeap̄ ket ɛl ment ɛ kuthoz ɔk̄or mæg lat̄ə y is ə bikəʃkat

when the third girl went to the well she saw the frog too

ɛ bikəʃkə fɛl ult katsaralvə i kətəlre

the frog was climbed up onto a rope

y fogni vert̄ə i bikat

she started hitting the frog

bikəʃkə mæg ʃanudot lipitori

the frog turned into a leech

sə y ki siptə verit

and it sucked her blood out

ʁapəʃkə ɛl futot verɛs:ɛnd həzə

the girl ran home bloodily / covered in blood

nidʒidʒik nəp ɛl mənt mas ʁeap̃ hoʃ huz:ɔn vizet

the fourth day another girl went to pull water

mæg latə bikəʃkat i lɛvɛl ɔlə

she saw the frog under a leaf

mæg ijədət s ɔk:or mæg fɔkto s ɛl həjtətə

she got scared and she took it and threw it away

bikɔʃkə mæg ʃanudot ʃiʌ:əni

the frog turned into a nettle

sə mæg ʃiptə ʌəpəʃkat

and stung the girl

ʌəpəʃkə ɛl futot hɔzə sə vɔkərədzɔt:

the girl ran home and scratched

ε zətədʒik λeap̩ el mɛnt ε kuthoz sɛ bikəʃkə ɔdə ult ləpʊlvə ε kutrə

the fifth daughter went to the well and the frog was stuck onto (the wall of) the well

λapəʃkə əkɔrtə hoʃ y, əkɔrt vɛrʃɛ, əkɔrt surʃə mɛg ə bikəʃkat

the girl wanted to stab the frog

ε bikəʃkə mɛg ʃanudot ynyi

the frog turned into cow

zyny mɛg rukto λapəʃkat

the cow kicked the girl

λapəʃkə el futot hɔzə santand

the girl run home lame / lamely

hōtodzīk λaηi el mēnt ε kuthoz sə mēg latə bikōʃkat ε geʒdelekēn

the sixth daughter went to the well and saw the frog on the edge of the well

λaηəʃkə fuɲi ɡitiiltə

the girl started to choke

bikōʃkə mēg ʃanudot mevi

the frog turned into a dragon

ə zmeu fuɲt tyzət ə sajabul

the dragon blew fire from its mouth

Λαρəʃkə mɛg pɛrgɛlydɛt ɛ tyztyl sɛ futɔt sə hagət ə fyst, fystɛlvɛ

the girl got burnt from the fire and ran and the smoke arose, smoking

ə hetɛdʒik ʎɛaŋ ult ɛ lɛkɪysɛbɪ

the seventh daughter was the smallest

mikor ɛl mɛnt ə kuthoz huzɔn vizɛt ɔkɔr mɛg latə y is ə bikɔʃkat

when she went to the well to pull water she too saw the frog

ə bikɔʃkə ult ə kopaf kɔzɛpibɛ, kopaf kɔzə sau kut kɔzə

the frog was sitting in the middle of the trees, between the tree and the well

Λαρəʃkə ɛl vɛtɛ bikɔʃkat sə mɛg sɛrɛtɛ sə mɛg ʃukɔltɔ

the girl picked up the frog, petted it and kissed it

ετσερbyl ε bikəʃkə mæg ʃanudot i sip ləgin

suddenly the frog turned into a handsome young man

ε prints mæg kəsəntə ʎanəʃkanək sɛ ɛl vɛtɛ nipnɛk

the prince thanked the girl and married her

ult distraktsje mɛʎik duralt het nəpot

there was a party that lasted for seven days

kjar ə kuʃak is ɛtɛk piʃɪnɛt

even the dogs ate roast

yk iltɛk dorʃo jul mig mæg hultək

they lived very well until they died

B2. Narration of the Video Clips

The following is an example of the way one of the consultant narrated the self-made video-clips that were supposed to trigger middle constructions. The video-clips are very short not more than 45-50 seconds each. The whole movie is around 11 minutes. They usually show a young girl doing different activities such as waking up in the morning washing her hands, painting.

lat:əm ki but: i nip

I saw a woman appear

fəl kɛlt ə zadʒbul , lɛ ult fɛkɛvɛ

she got up from the bed , she was lying down

mit ʃan ɛz , ɛz ʃap:ə zɛbidɛt

what is she doing, she is making food

ʃan gogofokot

she makes doughnuts

[the protagonist was making pancakes]

mozdʒik is tərøli ɛ kɛzɛit

she washes, she is wiping her hands

nɛzi ɛ pozajat

she looks at her picture

[it was not a painting of the protagonist but of myself. The girl in the video clip

was painting on a canvas]

nəzydik ə zoglindabə

she looks at herself in the mirror

ne most kənydik

now she is creaming herself

kəpi ɛ buzait

she is creaming her lips

ɛ jul ʃant sip ʌʁɒ

she does it well, she is a beautiful girl

[the consultant is already involved in the movie]

okelarəkvəl kə met las:ən job:ən

with glasses, in order to see better

most εsmit ʃanudik ot , mit ʃan lɛsɛ

now she is doing something again , what is she doing

kenydik, kenydik ni

she is creaming herself

most mos:o talɔkot ot, εsmit

now she is washing the plates again

most pereɛl, perɛlydik, perɛlydik

now with the brush, she is brushing herself

perlydzɛl , mos:o fogoit is

just brush yourself, she is also brushing her teeth

ju bre ju , sipen dolgozol ot, dolgozial mægədrə

hey it is good, you are doing a good job, do work there alone !

mægədrə , hul ɛ zemberəd ?

on her own , where is your husband

haj mig buj ki ɛtsər hoʃ las:ələk mæg

hey appear again so I can see you

[the consultant is very involved in the movie; talking to the screen]

most mos:udik səp:ənvəl kɛ mæg rəpənosultək ɛ kɛzɛi

now she washes herself with soap because her hands got filthy

most moʒdʒik mas moldu pudraal

now she is washing herself with another kind of powder

mos:ə zuj:əit, ha most pensulaəl

she is washing her fingers, ah now with a brush

pensulaal mosudik, nem urə mæg mosudzik mas mulʃan

she is washing herself with a brush, she cannot wash herself any other way

dore nem bətegek ɛ kɛzɛi dɛ uʎən y , uʃ ɔkərjɔ y

not like her hands are ill but that's how she is

ha ima most hɔbərjɔ ot ɛ zɛbidet ha ʃant klətitaɕət

ah, now she is mixing the food , she made pancakes

ni ɛməli, hɔbərjɔ, mos fordʒis:ə

yes, she is lifting , mixing, flipping them

nɛzɛt hoʒ:am is

she is looking also in my direction

hɔtsɔ nɛkɛm is ɛdʒɛt , hɔtsɔ bre nɛkɛm is ɛdʒɛt bre klətɪtat nɛm ɛt:ɛm mitultə ki

ʃant ə mamə

give me one , come on give me one too , I haven't eaten pancakes since my

mother gave me birth

sə most bɛsɪl ɛ sɛrɛtyjeɛl

and now she talks to her lover

[the protagonist just answered the phone. No one except her can be seen in the

movie and as already mentioned the video clips are silent]

bɛsɪl ɛ sɛrɛtyjeɛl most

she talks to her lover now

fordʒis:ə masik filit

she is turning the other ear to it

mæg kɛntɛ kɛzɛit ɛsmit , mæg kɛntɛ zuj:ɔit

she smeared her hands again , she smeared her fingers

ju ɛsmit bɛsil ɛ telefonbə

she talks on the phone again

hə mɒst ki vɛt:ɛ zɒkɛlɑrɛit

she took off her glasses

ki vɛt:ɛ zɒkɛlɑrɛit sə tɔrli sɛmɛit

she took off her glasses and wipes her eyes

tom mæg pəjandʒəlʊtək

I know she sees unclear

tərli most riu

she is wiping it , now she is crying

[the protagonist was just rubbing her eyes]

tom nɛm bɛsɪlt ɛ sɛrɛtyjɪɛz juːl

I know she didn't talk to her lover nicely

most riu tɛ

now she is crying hey

mit pətsəlt, ki tʊdʒə

what happened to you, who knows

most εsmit təsi be , fuɲi ʃitʃil tɛ, imadkozik tɛ

now again she puts them on , she starts reading, she is praying

katolik keɲzɛm sau miɫɛn lɛs y

she is Catholic I think or whatever she is

[the protagonist was just reading a book]

sɛb:ɛn , tɔrɔlkɔz:ɛl

do it better, towel yourself

keɲi ɛ sɛmɛit, keɲi ɛ sɛmɛit i pɛnsulaal

she is smearing her eyes, she is smearing her eyes with a brush

ʃɔpjə hɔjat nəzydik ə zoglindabə

she is throwing her hair back , she is looking at herself in the mirror

hɔʃ las:ə hɔʃ al nəkiʃə pantalonokvol , jul

to see how the pants fit her, they fit her well

vət: ɛ zɛmbərə nəkiʃə pantalonokot

her husband bought her pants

[the consultant helps with the plot]

most kɔvərɪs:ɔ ni , mig kɔtsɔgjo

and now she twists it and now she laughs about it

ɔk:ɔr sɛrɛti

then she likes it

mig kətsəg, sɛrɛti brɛ

she laughs, she likes it

ki jət i mas mə sə ɛl ʃəptə kɛzɛit kə tɔm fəzɪk

she came out another day she rubs her hands because she is cold

ki jət: ɔv:əl ɛə zɪŋvəl mɛʎɪkvəl əlut

she came out in the shirt she slept in

ju mɪʃək ə zəkɛlarokvəl vɔʝən

she is with the glasses again

[the consultant makes connections between the video clips]

kɛ nɛm las:ə zadʒət fɛkɛdʒik lɛ

and she doesn't see the bed to lie down onto it

most huz:ə kəłtsunɔit

now she is putting on her socks

indult mənɛn mənɛn huɔ mənɛn

she started going , she is going , where is she going

indul, most indul nɛ most huz fɛjɛrɛkɛt

she starts, now she starts, no now she puts on the white ones

ima zutə huz fɛkɛtikɛt

now after that she puts on the black ones

ha huz:ə pantofɔit is

yes, she is putting on also her shoes

most be hustə tənɪʃəi, tənɪʃei be hustə

now she put on her sports shoes

be hustə tənɪʃəit most huz fəkɛtɛ kəltsunok, nɛ, nɛm sɛrɛti ɔskɔt

she put on her sport shoes, now she puts on the black socks, no, no she does not

like those

ɛzɛk ɛ zin:ɔplu kəltsunəi

these are her best socks

note: zin:ɔplu kəltsunəi lit. 'holiday socks' (= Sunday best socks)

ju, huz:ɔd, huz:ɔd sip vɛʃɛd ə papuʃɔidət , ɛst vɛt:ə ult ə zɛmbɛrɛ

good, put on, put on, put on your slippers, her husband bought these

[as one can see over and over again the consultant became part of the plot, she narrates it and adds a lot of information]

most ɛl jət ə prɛʃɪn:ɔ

now her friend came

ɛl jət i prɛʃɪnə sə kɛnik ɛ sɛmɛikɛt

one of her friends came, and they are smearing their eyes (they are putting on make-up)

[the video clip only shows one girl/woman putting on make-up]

most vagjə hɔjat

now she is cutting her hair

most ɛl jət: ot ə zɔŋ:ɔ, most nɪʃ senki

now her mother came , and now there is no one

ɛsmit ɛl jət ot

she came here again

most moʒdʒik, ah, mæg ɪɔzɔt

now she is washing herself again , oh she got thirsty

isik sukot kɛ sarig ə lɛv

she is drinking juice because the liquid is yellow

is:ə sukot vɛt:ɪk nɛkɪjɛ hjaɔɔ

she is drinking juice , they got it for her for no reason

most tərli saʃat

now she wipes her mouth

most ɛsmit ɛl but:

now she hid again

a, a, most lɛ ylt ɛ sekɾɛ

yeah, yeah, now she sat down on the chair

a, most mit ʃan lɛs, ir nɛm

yeah, now might she be doing, she is writing, isn't she

pətʃi ir, ir iras ə zɛmbɛrɪnɛk

maybe she is writing, it is a letter to her husband

nəm most folt vəʎəmit ot , kəl ləʒik ult dultʃatsə

no, now she ate something, there must have been marmalade

nəz ide is , lə tʃɛpɛntɛtːɛ pantalonoit

she is looking here too , she dripped food on her pants

dakə nəm atent

if she does not pay attention

stropiludʒːik lə

let her stain herself !

tərli ə saʒat most

she is wiping her mouth

tørøʎød bre tørøʎd seʎ:ænd , uʝ ni, uʝ ni

wipe better, like this, like this

mæg vertə zɔrtsait, kə tom mæg dɔgɔt:ɔk, ʉni most sɔbjɔ fɛjit kɛ mɛt nɛm ɛsydɛt

jul

she hit her cheeks, because they swoll, she spans her head because she is not

smart

ɛl vaktə zuʝat

she cut her finger

mæg kɛlɛt: ə sɔbjɔ vɛʎɛmiɛl

she must have hit it

ima ujbul

and now again

peri symyldykɛit, peri, kə dɔrʃɛ mɛg nytːɛk

she is shearing her eyebrows, because they grew a lot

mig ɛtser mig kɛnydik ɛsmit

now once again she is smearing herself again

ima most tɛsi ɛ pensulat ɛ sɛmɛirɛ

now she uses a brush on her eyes

mig fɛnydnɛk parkə borotvalkəznək

they are smearing themselves, as if they are shaving

parkə mæg syɾes:ylt ɛ zal:ik

as if their faces got fuzzy

[all the video clips until now have only one actor]

mig, mig ima fogoit is

now also her teeth

læneɾək feʝereɾək hoʝ sɛɾes:ik ɛ lɛʝineɾək

so they would be white , so the boys would like her

mind ɛ kɛt:ɛn kɛɾik

they both are smearing their faces

ima fysyli ə hoʝat

now she brushes / combs her hair

mig vøtsæriludik , tʃipi ə hɔjat

she is --- , she is pulling her hair

ima kəti fəl ə hɔjat

now she is tying her hair up

most kəti hatri fəli

now she ties her hair back

mindʒet kətik ə masikək is kəti y is

they way the others tie it she ties it

vagət i dərɒb saʎamət

she cut a piece of salami

sə surjə sajabə sau kərtet

and she puts it on her mouth

kəl lejik əbid vələmi

it must be some kind of food

əl ʃəptə həjat, məg makazudət

she threw her hair back , she ---

be hostə kuʃat , ni ɔz səkik ɛ reajə ə kuʃə , ni ɲəʎə kuʃə zərtsait

she brought the dog in , and look that dog is jumping on her , look the dog is

licking her cheeks

nəm sedʒɛli tɛ

isn't she ashamed

sɛrɛti ə kuʃɔ

the dog loves her

most mənɛn ə viragək fɛli

now she goes towards the flowers

mənɛn i zɛmbɛr, mənɛn i ʎaŋ uta

a man is walking, he is walking after the girl

visi ɛ kuʃat ə lantsatul

he takes the dog by the chain

visen i fɛjɛr kuʃat

he takes a white dog

haj mutʃitudʒ:ɔtok bre

hey show yourselves come on

ɛl vɛt:ɛ kəruʃoromot tɛ, mənɛn kəruʃorbɔ , toʔak

she took my wheelchair away, she goes with the wheelchair , they are pushing

her

ɔz nɛki tom sɛrnɛk ə labəi mind nɛkɛm

I know her legs hurt like it hurts me

most mæg fordʒit:ə

now she turns her around

primbaludnək kə dorilnək nɛm sɜrnɛk ə labɔi

they are taking a walk because they like it and her legs do not hurt

Appendix C: List of Case Endings

Suffix	Translation	Case
- Ø		Nominative
-t/-ət	direct object	Accusative
-nək/nək	indirect object/Subject in non-canonical constructions	Dative
-nal	by, at	Adessive
-byl	out of	Elative
-ben	in	Inessive
-beʔ/be	into	Illative
-ryl	about, of, concerning	Delative
-tyl	from, away from	Ablative
-hez/həz/hɔz	to	Allative
-vel	with	Instrumental/Comitative
-re	onto	Sublative
-en/-on	on	Superessive
-ig	as far as, up to, until	Terminative

Table 92 Case Endings

Appendix D: List of Pronouns in all their forms and cases

Nominative pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
1	en	nyk
2	tɛ	tyk
3	y kɛmɛd (polite form)	yk kɛmɛdik (polite form)

Table 93 Nominative Personal pronouns

Accusative pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
1	ingɛmɛt/ ɛngɛmɛt	nykynkɛt
2	tigɛdɛt	tyktɛkɛt
3	yt	ykɛt

Table 94 Accusative Personal Pronouns

Dative pronouns

The formation of personal pronouns in different cases is not done by attaching the appropriate case marker suffix to the end of the nominative pronoun, as will be the case for other types of pronouns such as demonstrative pronouns, interrogative pronoun and so on. The case marker ending is taken as a stem and

to it the personal endings are added. For example, the 1st person singular dative personal pronoun *nɛkɛm* is formed by taking the dative case ending *-nɛk* and adding to it the 1st person singular personal pronoun ending *-ɛm*. The following are the personal pronoun endings.

Personal endings:

Person	Singular	Plural
1	-ɛm	-ynk
2	-ed	-tɛk
3	-i/-je	-ik/uk/ɛk

Table 95 Personal Endings

Dative pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
1	nɛkɛm	nɛkynk
2	nɛked	nɛktɛk
3	nɛki /nɛkije	nɛkik

Table 96 Dative Personal Pronouns

Ablative pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
1	tyl:əm	tyl:unk/tyl:ynk
2	tyl:əd	tyl:etək
3	tyl:ε	tyl:ik

*Table 97 Ablative Personal Pronouns***Adessive pronouns**

Person	Singular	Plural
1	naləm/nal:əm	nalunk/nal:unk
2	naləd	nalətək
3	nal:ə/nalə	nal:ik/nalik

*Table 98 Adessive Personal Pronouns***Elicative Pronouns**

Person	Singular	Plural
1		bələlynk/belylynk
2	bəlyləd	bəlyletək
3	bəlylə/bəlyl:ε	bəlylik

*Table 99 Elative Personal Pronouns***Illative Pronouns**

Person	Singular	Plural
1		
2	bələd/bəle	
3	bələ/bəli/bəlje/bəlejε/bəle	bəlejək

Table 100 Illative Personal Pronouns

Inessive pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
1		
2		
3	bɛn:ɛ	bɛn:ɛ:ɪk

*Table 101 Inessive Personal Pronouns***Delative pronouns**

Person	Singular	Plural
1	riul:ɔm	
2		
3	rulə	

*Table 102 Delative Personal Pronouns***Allative Pronoun**

Person	Singular	Plural
1	hoz:am	hoz:ank
2	hoz:ad	hoz:atək
3	hoz:ajə/hoz:a	hoz:ajik/hoz:ajuk

*Table 103 Allative Personal Pronouns***Instrumental Pronouns**

Person	Singular	Plural
1	vel:ɛm/veɛm/vel:ɛm	vel:ynk
2	veɛd/vel:ɛd	vel:ɛtək
3	vɛɛ/ vel:ɛ	vɛlyk/vel:ik

Table 104 Instrumental Personal Pronouns

Sublative pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
1	riam	
2		
3	rɛajə/rihajə/rivajə	

*Table 105 Sublative Personal Pronouns***Superessive pronouns**

Person	Singular	Plural
1	rit:ɔm	rit:unk
2		
3	rit:ɔ	

*Table 106 Superessive Personal Pronouns***Relative Pronouns**

Case	Singular	Plural
Nominative	mɛlik	mɛlikek
Accusative	mɛlikekɛt	mɛlikekɛt
Dative	mɛliknek	mɛlikeknek
Illative (in)	mɛlikbɛ	mɛlikekbɛ
Elative (out of)	mɛlikbyl	
Allative (to)	mɛlikhez	
Ablative (from, away from)	mɛliktyl	
Delative (about, of)	mɛlikryl	
Instrumental (vɛl)	mɛlikvɛl	mɛlikekvɛl
Superessive (on)	mɛlɛn	mɛlikekɛnd
Sublative (onto)	mɛlikrɛ	

Table 107 Relative Pronouns Demonstratives

Singular Demonstratives

Case	Proximal/this	Distal (that)
Nominative	ɛz	ɔz
Accusative	ɛzt	ɔzt
Dative	ɛn:ɛk	ɔn:ɔk
Illative (in)	ɛb:ɛ	ɔb:ɔ
Elativ (out of)	ɛb:yl	ɔb:ul
Allative (to)	ɛzhɛz	ɔzhɔz
Instrumental (with)	ɛv:ɛl	ɔv:ɔl
Terminative (until)	ɛdʒig	ɔd:ig
Sublative (onto)	ɛr:ɛ	ɔr:ɔ
Addessive (at)	ɛn:ɛl	ɔn:al

Table 108 Singular Demonstrative Pronouns (proximal & distal)

Plural demonstratives

Case	Proximal Plural these	Distal Plural those
Nominative	εzek	ɔzɔk
Accusative	εzket	ɔzkɔt
Dative	εzeknek	ɔzɔknɔk
Illative (in)	εzekbe	ɔzɔkbɔ
Elicative (out of)	εzekbyl	
Allative (to)	εzekhez	ɔzɔkhɔz
Instrumental (with)	εzekvel	ɔzɔkvɔl
Sublative (onto)	εzekre	ɔzɔkrɔ
Addessive (at)		
Terminative (until)		

Table 109 Plural Demonstrative Pronouns (proximal & distal)

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